60 CENTS
ICD

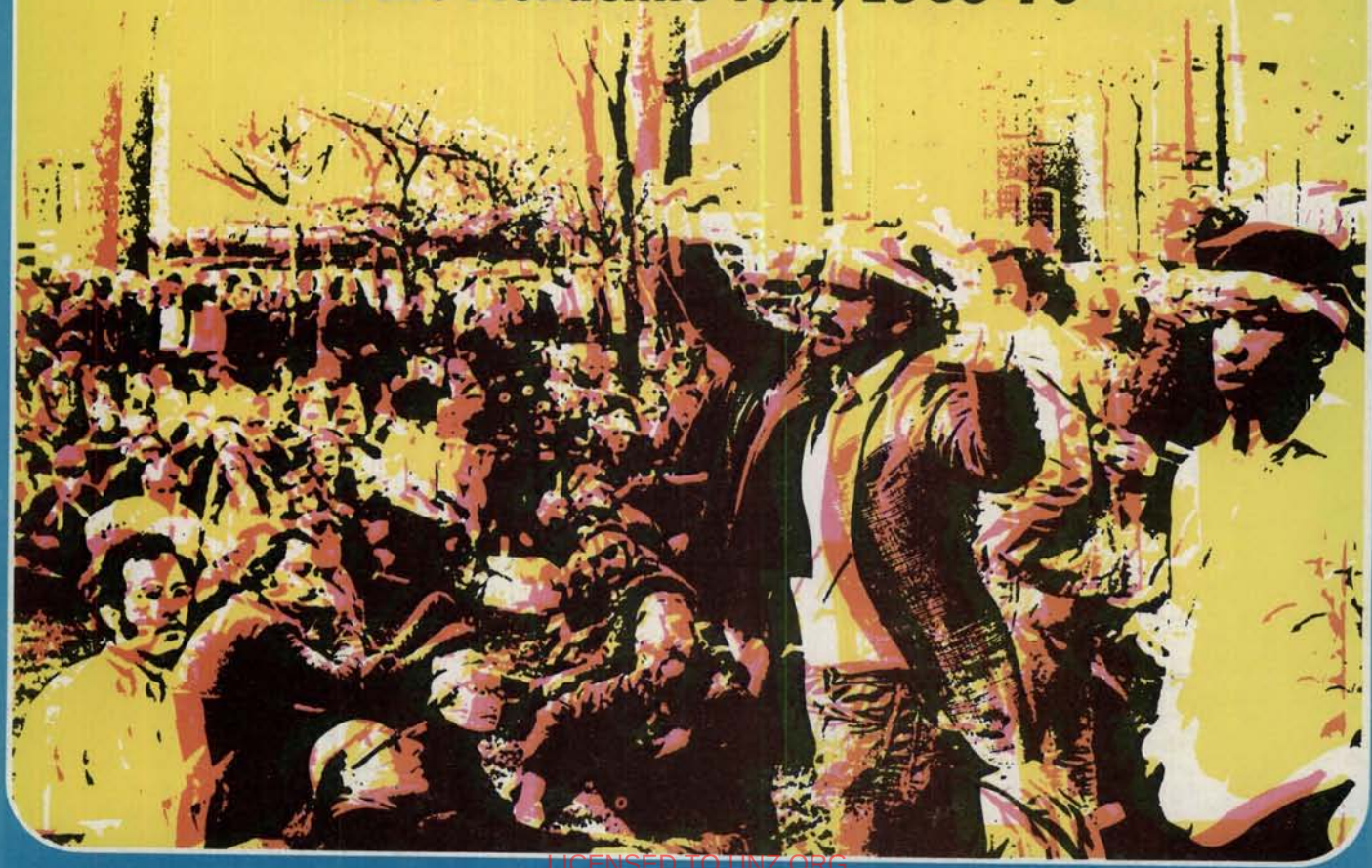
JULY 14, 1970

WAS CAMBODIA CONSTITUTIONAL?
—see page 731

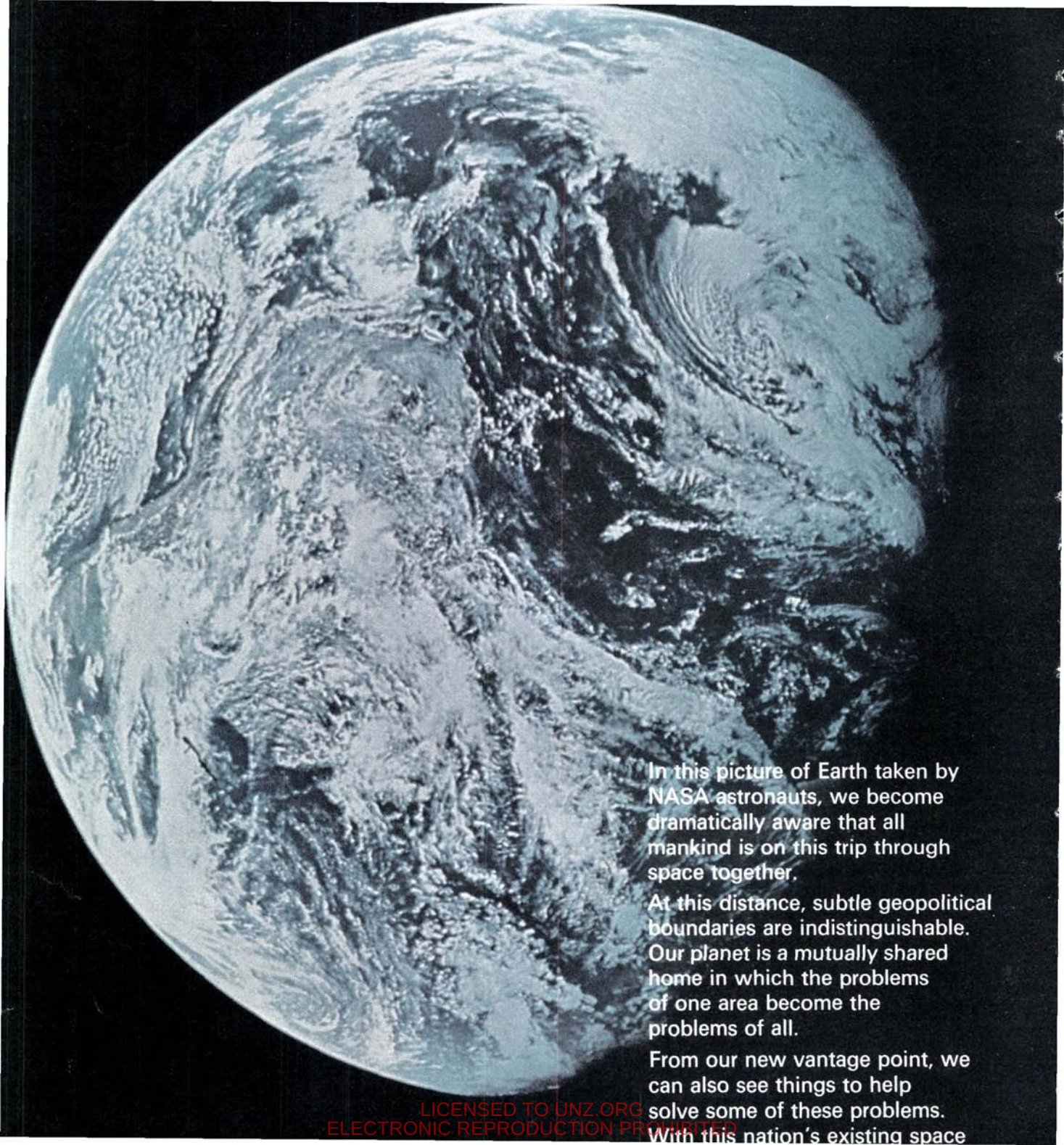
NATIONAL REVIEW

Can American Education Survive One More Year Like the One We Have Just Been Through?

An Unsolicited Survey from Random Sample Victims of the Academic Year, 1969-70



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



In this picture of Earth taken by NASA astronauts, we become dramatically aware that all mankind is on this trip through space together.

At this distance, subtle geopolitical boundaries are indistinguishable. Our planet is a mutually shared home in which the problems of one area become the problems of all.

From our new vantage point, we can also see things to help solve some of these problems. With this nation's existing space

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO GET THIS BOOK FREE

with membership in the Conservative Book Club and your agreement to buy just 3 other books in the next 15 months.

USE GREEN ENROLLMENT CARD FACING THIS PAGE

ON THE GOLDWATER CAMPAIGN:

"In those days American conservatives, dreaming of the glorious possibility of a Goldwater victory, envisioned the scene on the Capitol steps during the Inauguration ceremony. 'Do you,' says Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, addressing President-elect Barry Goldwater, 'solemnly swear to defend the Constitution of the United States?' Answers President Goldwater: 'I do. You're under arrest, Warren.'"

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BILL

The Best of Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Compiled by David Franke. 880 delicious quotes arranged by topic, including some 300 from unsigned National Review editorials never before attributed to Buckley.

A sampling of the topics and quotes in this bonanza (including 19 karate chops at Lindsay, 16 at LBJ, 7 at Arthur Schlesinger, 6 at Javits)...

Education

College graduates favor Nixon over Humphrey 46-39, which is the best thing anybody has recently remarked about the values of a college education. On the other hand, alumni of graduate schools favor Humphrey over Nixon 41-29, which confirms the worst suspicions we harbor about over-education.

Catholic Church

The crisis of the Catholic church is much written about. *Look* Magazine celebrates it every couple of issues, and its editors have even volunteered to rewrite the Apostles' Creed, reaching a new high in reader service.

Complaining

I profoundly believe it takes a lot of practice to become a moral slob, and that if there is anything the American people are diligently engaged in acquiring, it is that skill, that indifference to things minor which carries over to things major. We simply don't compain about little things; and so a part of our nervous system becomes inert—the part which should be tingling and on edge if we are to escape totalitarianization by those who exercise great power... Start with the little things. Don't become a grouch. But don't let them push you around. If absolutely necessary, refuse to fasten your seat belt.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

The relationship between corruption and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. would appear to be something like the relationship between typhoid and Typhoid Mary.

Mayor John Lindsay

Mr. (Charles) McWhorter is a longtime enthusiast for John Lindsay—they were young Republicans together back when the destruction of New York City was only a gleam in Lindsay's eye.

And more, *more*, MORE...

Arthur Goldberg
Jimmy Breslin
Academic Cranks
Norman Mailer
Henry Luce
Capital Punishment
Pablo Casals
Jack Paar
Israel
Privacy
Sailing
Gore Vidal
Young Americans for Freedom

Nuclear War
Joseph R. McCarthy
Eldridge Cleaver
The Minimum Wage
Castro
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
D.A.R.
Nelson Rockefeller
Dr. Spock
Jesse Unruh
Winston Churchill
Jack Newfield
Roy Cohn
The Beatles

James Wechsler
Village Voice
John Kenneth Galbraith
Greek Junta
SANE
Sexual Revolution
James Baldwin
Sen. Fulbright
Gen. Curtis LeMay
General Hershey
Milton Friedman
Cassius Clay
Harold Wilson

Liberal Republicans
The Pueblo
Harvard
New York Post
Ombudsmen
Parents
Peace
New York Conservative Party
Hippies
Robert S. McNamara
Welfare
Ku Klux Klan
Roy Wilkins
New York Times

Hubert Humphrey
Huntley-Brinkley
George Romney
Westbrook Pegler
Billy Graham
Charles Percy
Ralph Ginzburg
Ripon Society
Spiro Agnew
Joseph Alsop
American Civil Liberties Union
Johann Sebastian Bach
Walter Lippmann

Owen Lattimore
Eleanor Roosevelt
Adlai Stevenson
Charles de Gaulle
George Wallace
Ronald Reagan
Columbia University
Whittaker Chambers
College Chaplains
World Council of Churches
Ted Sorensen
George Lincoln Rockwell
...**hundreds more!**

How to Get This Book FREE

Would you prefer us to send you this book free? You can get a free copy by joining Arlington House's affiliated company, the Conservative Book Club. Your only obligation as a member is to accept 3 books from among the 60 to be offered by the Club over the next 15 months, after which you may resign at any time. Membership entitles you to a free subscription to the monthly Club Bulletin, plus the opportunity to buy any Club book at 20% to 75% off retail price plus shipping. If you accept the monthly selection, no need to do anything. It is shipped automatically and the Club charges your account. If you don't want the monthly selection, you merely let the Club know on the handy form always provided. If you prefer this plan, please check the appropriate box in coupon and mail today.

Bobby Kennedy
JFK
FDR
God
Libel
Richard Nixon
The Constitution
Drugs
Civil Rights
Mayor Daley
Martin Luther King
Private Schools
John Wayne

The Assassinations
CIA
Susan Sontag
Steve Allen
The Telephone Company
David Susskind
Urban Renewal
Irish Catholics
James Hoffa
Henry Cabot Lodge
Walter Cronkite
Herbert Matthews

Washington Post
Dick Gregory
Walter Reuther
Pope Paul VI
Tax Reform
Pornography
Clare Boothe Luce
Swiss Bank Accounts
Pravda
Eugene McCarthy
Staughton Lynd
Gen. Douglas MacArthur

Risk-Free Examination

Send for a copy on risk-free examination. If not well pleased you may return it within 30 days of delivery and receive a refund in full plus extra cash to cover return postage. Mail coupon with $6.95 to your bookseller or: Arlington House, Publishers, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

To your bookseller or

ARLINGTON HOUSE
PUBLISHERS FOR THE SILENT MAJORITY
81 Centre Ave.,
New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801

Gentlemen: Please send postpaid **Quotations From Chairman Bill.** My payment of $6.95 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

NR-408

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ **Send QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BILL free and enroll me in the Conservative Book Club. I agree to buy 3 Club selections in the next 15 months at 20% to 75% discounts plus shipping.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CREATIVE ADVERTISING DESIGNS
ULTRA ARTS, INC.
150 East 35th Street • New York, N.Y. 10016
ORegon 9-7493-4

NATIONAL REVIEW ON MICROFILM

Microfilm copies of current as well as back issues of NR may be purchased from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd. Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106

VOL. XXII NO. 27 JULY 14, 1970

713 **The Week**

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

708 For the Record
711 Letters
722 Can American Education Survive One More Year Like the One We Have Just Been Through?
729 The Protracted Conflict *by James Burnham*
730 Letter from London *by Anthony Lejeune*
731 The Cooper-Church Amendment *by C. Dickerman Williams*
734 Bastille Day Revisited *by Aram Bakshian Jr.*
736 From the Academy *by Russell Kirk*
737 Delectations *by David Brudnoy*
748 On the Right *by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.*
751 Trans-O-Gram

758 **BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS**

Wm. F. Buckley's *The Governor Listeth* reviewed by Will Herberg ☐ Eliseo Vivas on Herbert Marcuse ☐ Holmes Alexander's autobiography reviewed by John Chamberlain ☐ Theodore Sturgeon on science fiction ☐ Christopher Nichols on *Abel* ☐ The 1969-70 theater season discussed by Richmond Crinkley

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. *Editor*
WILLIAM A. RUSHER *Publisher*

Editors
JAMES BURNHAM ☐ JEFFREY HART ☐ FRANK S. MEYER
PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY *Managing Editor*
C. H. SIMONDS *Assistant Managing Editor*
JAMES P. MCFADDEN *Assistant Publisher*
FRANCES BRONSON *Executive Secretary*

Contributing Editors
GUY DAVENPORT ☐ W. H. VON DREELE
M. STANTON EVANS ☐ WILL HERBERG
JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK ☐ RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Associates
PHILIP P. ARDERY JR. ☐ JOHN R. COYNE JR.
JANE B. SMITH ☐ TIMOTHY J. WHEELER
PATRICIA A. CARR ☐ KEVIN LYNCH *Assistant Editors*
AGATHA SCHMIDT *Research Director*

Contributors
C. D. BATCHELOR ☐ COLM BROGAN ☐ DAVID BRUDNOY
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN ☐ A. LAWRENCE CHICKERING ☐ RICHARD CORLISS
RICHMOND CRINKLEY ☐ JOAN DIDION ☐ ANTHONY R. DOLAN
CHARLES FOLEY ☐ NEAL FREEMAN ☐ MAX GELTMAN
NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON ☐ HENRY HAZLITT ☐ SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE
SIR SHANE LESLIE ☐ SIR ARNOLD LUNN ☐ VINCENT MILLER
GERHART NIEMEYER ☐ STEFAN T. POSSONY
WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER ☐ MORRIE RYSKIND
WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM ☐ TIBOR SZAMUELY ☐ ALEC WAUGH
AUBERON WAUGH ☐ FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN ☐ PETER P. WITONSKI

Foreign Contributors: ANTHONY LEJEUNE, *London* ☐ E. V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN, *Munich*
ELSPETH HUXLEY, *African Affairs*

Art Director: JAMES W. O'BRYAN ☐ *Promotion Manager:* EDWARD A. CAPANO
Circulation Manager: H. HALDANE HILL ☐ *Advertising Director:* PATRICK D. MAINES

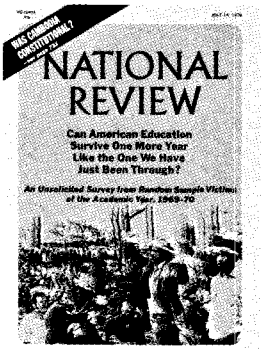
NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second class postage paid at Bristol, Conn. and at additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1970.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., *National Review*, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.
Address all subscription mail, orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Manager, *National Review*, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.
RATES: $20.00 a year ($12.00 for the 44-page issues, and $8.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THIS ISSUE

■ We celebrate Bastille Day. It's been July 14 for months and months on most American campuses—therefore the question posed on our cover. Answer: We wonder. Surely, goldfish-swallowing was never like this, as a look at our frontline reports from students, teachers and administrators will show. . . . **Aram Bakshian Jr.**, whom we met last issue, examines the myths and realities of the original B-Day. . . . *Les sans-culottes* were out in force when **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** gave a commencement address; he reports on their antics, and those of Comrade Professor Miss Angela Davis, and on that Island of Relative Calm, the New York primary election. . . . In the spirit of the season, we've had upheavals of our own: For the first time in fifteen years, we're strikebound. The pressmen walked out on our printer in Connecticut; all our copy was stuck in the embattled plant (a truck sent to bring it out suddenly developed six flat tires); so the type is being set in New York and the magazine printed in Rhode Island. In spite of all of which, here we are.



■ The Left is in full cry over the "illegal" war in Indochina. *Is* our action in Cambodia legal? **C. Dickerman Williams** says it is. Mr. Williams was law clerk to Chief Justice William Howard Taft at the time of the arguments of *Myers* v. *United States,* the case referred to in his article in which the Supreme Court blocked efforts by Congress to circumscribe the exercise of powers granted the President by the Constitution. According to Mr. Williams, Taft devoted more time and energy to this opinion than to any other written by him during his tenure as Chief Justice. . . . From London, **Anthony Lejeune** comments on that loverly election. Poor Harold Wilson, led to his doom by a flock of pollsters. . . . **David Brudnoy**, our chronicler of the student revolution (Boston-Cambridge Div.), escapes to Provincetown.

■ Nuclear weapons can't be all that bad, suggests **James Burnham**—after all, they've been around 25 years, and nobody's used them. . . . **Russell Kirk** invites us to consider the lost causes of Caledonia. . . . **Cato** is absent this week, vacationing in Europe.

■ **Eliseo Vivas** has just retired from a long and distinguished career at Northwestern University; his book on Herbert Marcuse will be published soon. . . . Sorry, **John Chamberlain**, but Holmes Alexander isn't "the dean of conservative columnists"—he's co-dean, with John Chamberlain. C. appreciates A.'s new book, herein. . . . **Theodore Sturgeon** reviews some new science fiction, a genre to which he's contributed a new novel and a dozen short stories since the first of this year.

Jews vs. Blacks

THE CONFRONTATION
Black Power, Anti-Semitism, and the Myth of Integration
by Max Geltman

Why did it happen? Where will it end? How did two minority groups, both tragically victimized by oppression and persecution, come so dangerously close to enmity as they seem today? This indispensable book reveals the deep roots of the Jewish-black confrontation and provides a wealth of new information and insights on this increasingly ominous problem.

"Should evoke some confrontations of its own." —*Kirkus Reviews*

"Considerable insight." —*Publishers' Weekly*

$7.95

Prentice-Hall
Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your **old** address label here. Print **new** address below, including your ZIP code. (The ZIP code has become all-important, as all names must be filed—and mailed—by that number.)

READERS' SERVICE

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER

that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists when you move, etc. Thank you.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME _____
(Please print)

ADDRESS _____
(New address—if moving)

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ **PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO**
☐ I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $12.00 rate. Please enter my ☐ new ☐ renewal subscription: ☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me later.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ First round in Massachusetts GOP senatorial contest went to liberal Republican **Josiah Spaulding** who beat out **John McCarthy** by two to one vote in convention, but who'll still have to win Sept. 15 primary against McCarthy and, possibly, cartoonist **Al Capp**. Capp has changed his registration from independent to Republican, says he may just make a late bid. Convention that okayed Spaulding, a dove, also knocked out a plank calling for accelerated withdrawal from Vietnam, substituted one in support of President's move into Cambodia. . . . Gov. **Francis Sargent** of Mass., who has said thanks but no thanks he'd rather not have **Spiro Agnew** appearing at a fund-raising function in Boston ("I think we'd better go it alone here"), lost out on his choice of Lt. Gov. He settled on **Roland Dwight** instead of State Rep. **Martin Linsky** when party leaders even in liberal Mass. rebelled. Linsky supported Johnson in 1964, refused to support Nixon in '68, is a member of Americans for Democratic Action. . . . Decision of Republicans in Virginia not to endorse Sen. **Harry Byrd Jr.**, who is running as an independent, was victory for liberal governor **Linwood Holton** over Rep. **Joel Broyhill,** the north Virginia conservative. Holton has, in fact, wrested control of Virginia GOP from old-line Republicans. . . . According to Presidential aide **Murray Chotiner**, there's a good chance that Sen. **Albert Gore** may not survive the Aug. 6 Tennessee Democratic primary. Chotiner says there may be "a repeat of the Texas situation" in which conservative Democrat **Lloyd Bentsen** beat out veteran liberal Senator **Ralph Yarborough**. . . . In Republican primary it will be Rep. **Bill Brock** *v.* Western singer and former cowboy star **Tex Ritter**, with Brock well ahead at the moment by all accounts.

■ About that Senate vote on **McGovern-Hatfield** (the most restrictive of all the antiwar amendments). Doves said they voted to table it because they didn't think the time was right for it—i.e., they would have lost. Others on the Hill point out another reason they might not want to bring war debate to an end, which is that the money is rolling in. According

Waite, *The Sun*, London Ben Roth Agency

"We can't possibly fly you to Syria. We're already flying to Cuba."

to some estimates the half-hour TV time the doves bought plus various mailings by new antiwar committees have brought in $400,000 to $500,000, and much of the surplus is being channeled to campaign coffers of dove senators. Among the recipients, these sources say, are **Quentin Burdick**, **George McGovern**, **Charles Goodell**. . . . According to **Joseph Alsop**, private polls in New York show **Nelson Rockefeller**'s popularity on the rise, up from the abysmal lows of the early spring due, in part, to unbalanced Democratic ticket plus **Arthur Goldberg**'s poor showing against **Howard Samuels** in mid-June primary. . . . Going the rounds in Manhattan: the story a rabbi brought back after a recent visit to Israel. He got to see Mrs. **Golda Meir**, he says, and found she wanted to talk about only one thing, New York politics, about which incidentally, she seems to know everything. "Do you realize, rabbi," she told him, "that if **James Buckley** is elected to the Senate, he'll be the only senator from New York who has the ear of **Richard Nixon**?". . . In the making, a "Communicators for Buckley Committee" of agency and pr men, mostly from liberal shops, who are putting their talents to work for Buckley.

■ Sources in Prague believe **Dubcek** ouster from party, new crackdowns, will culminate in show trials, probably after the Aug. 21 third anniversary of the Soviet occupation. Over a quarter of a million persons are reported to have lost their party cards; diplomats are being recalled (**Anton Vasek**, the Czech ambassador to Denmark, defected rather than return home). . . . **Jiri Hochman**, a Czech newsman who played prominent part in promoting "Dubcek Spring," has written friends in the States that he expects to be tried soon. . . . There's been no announcement but foreign newspapers and magazines are no longer to be found on the stands in Prague and other cities. . . Authorities have cut back on travel abroad by the simple device of jumping fares to the West by 275 per cent. . . . West German diplomats in **Bucharest** report a sudden tightening there, too, of controls on exit and travel visas. Among those specially affected: Rumanian Jews trying to get to Israel. . . . **Cuba** has suddenly canceled regular flights to Spain and Mexico for would-be political refugees (flights to Miami are not affected) and has announced that no applications for exit papers received after May 31 will be processed.

■ Japanese summer vacationers climbing Mount Fuji, and 20,000 do every summer, have it made courtesy of Japan's **Mother Bell**. Half-way up they'll find, painted a tasteful blue to blend with sky and snow, ten pay phones from which they can dial direct to any city or town in Japan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adam Smith Warned You: Inflation Always Leads To Crisis.

"When national debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree, there is scarce, I believe, a single instance of their having been fairly and completely paid. The liberation of the public revenue, if it has been brought about at all, has always been brought about by a bankruptcy."—THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.

One great economist after another has agreed with him. From Frederic Bastiat to Ludwig von Mises, Milton Friedman and Henry Hazlitt—*all* have warned of the irreparable damage inflation does to a nation and the appalling toll it can take from your labor, your savings, your plans . . . and your dreams.

In previous inflations a few farsighted investors managed to prosper. But the loopholes by which they salvaged their wealth are being tightened in this one. There is no *sure* way to protect yourself.

Are you prepared, now:

- to see the value of your stocks cut in half?
- to lose your job or business?
- to have your loans called?
- to see mortgages and car loans soar further in cost?
- to face a general business recession?

YOUR INFLATION DEFENSE

To defend yourself against inflation, you need an overall investment strategy backed up by expert help.

In his new booklet HOW TO DEFEND YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY FROM INFLATION, Mr. Rickenbacker, applying the wisdom of the great economists, sets forth in clear, bold strokes, an overall investment strategy for the '70s. However, no booklet (or book, for that matter, regardless of its size) can anticipate a decade of new governmental regulations, technological advances, foreign developments and changing market conditions.

For this, you need a quality investment advisory service.

Forty-five times a year, the RICKENBACKER REPORT's team of experts cover all conventional areas of investing. Messrs.

Andreen, Secretary,
International Freedom Academy;
Horton, President,
Computer Guidance Corporation;
Metzemaekers, Editor,
HET FINANCIEELE DAGBLAD;
Reuter, President,
Leys, Christie & Co;
Ziebarth, Vice-President,
Hayden, Stone;
& those gallant undercover agents:
Mr. S. of the commodity market and
the Swiss Banker, Mr. B., better
known as "The Gnome of Zurich"

bring you the latest developments from around the globe. For instance:

- Perspective review of the money market.
- Industrial and commercial real estate.
- Gems, gold coins (don't jump to any conclusions), art.
- Common stocks.
- *Special issue on gold and silver stocks.*
- Review of the foreign financial press.
- Natural resources and the commodity market.
- Government bonds, cash, savings accounts.
- Banking.

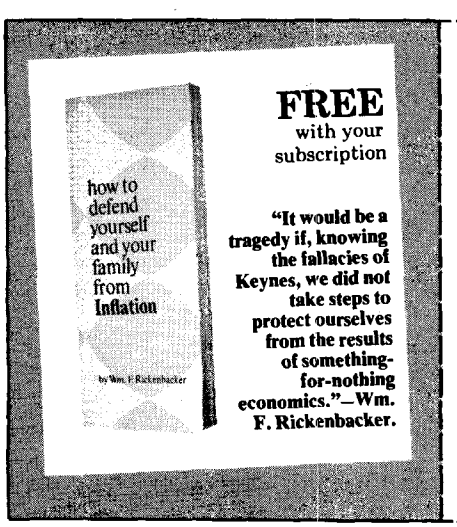
TAKE IT FROM RICKENBACKER

Overall investment strategy; current, in-depth information; the expertise of specialists—Rickenbacker puts these tools to work for you. In the RICKENBACKER REPORT, he gives clear, unhedged buy/sell recommendations. Model portfolios help you tailor his recommendations to your own particular situation.

"I would like to see the careful, wise, and farsighted come through this trial in mint condition. Perhaps then they will have their turn at guiding the policies of this country. What could be more creative and beneficent than this, to provide the means of sheltering the wise from destruction, and saving them for the great and honorable task of rebuilding a country too long at the mercy of the politics and economics of illusion?" —Wm. F. Rickenbacker, DEATH OF THE DOLLAR.

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

Mr. Rickenbacker invites you to examine his Report without risk. For a FREE copy of his new booklet HOW TO DEFEND YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY FROM INFLATION, and a 3-month trial subscription, send your $30 check to the RICKENBACKER REPORT, Box 1000, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y. 10510. If, within 30 days, you are dissatisfied for any reason, you may return the material you have received for a full and prompt refund of your fee.



FREE with your subscription

"It would be a tragedy if, knowing the fallacies of Keynes, we did not take steps to protect ourselves from the results of something-for-nothing economics."—Wm. F. Rickenbacker.

The **RICKENBACKER REPORT**
Box 1000, Briarcliff Manor, New York 10510

Dear Mr. Rickenbacker:
Please start my subscription to the RICKENBACKER REPORT immediately. Rush my free copy of HOW TO DEFEND YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY FROM INFLATION. I understand that if, within 30 days, I am dissatisfied for any reason, I may return the material I received for a full and prompt refund.

Name_____

Address_____

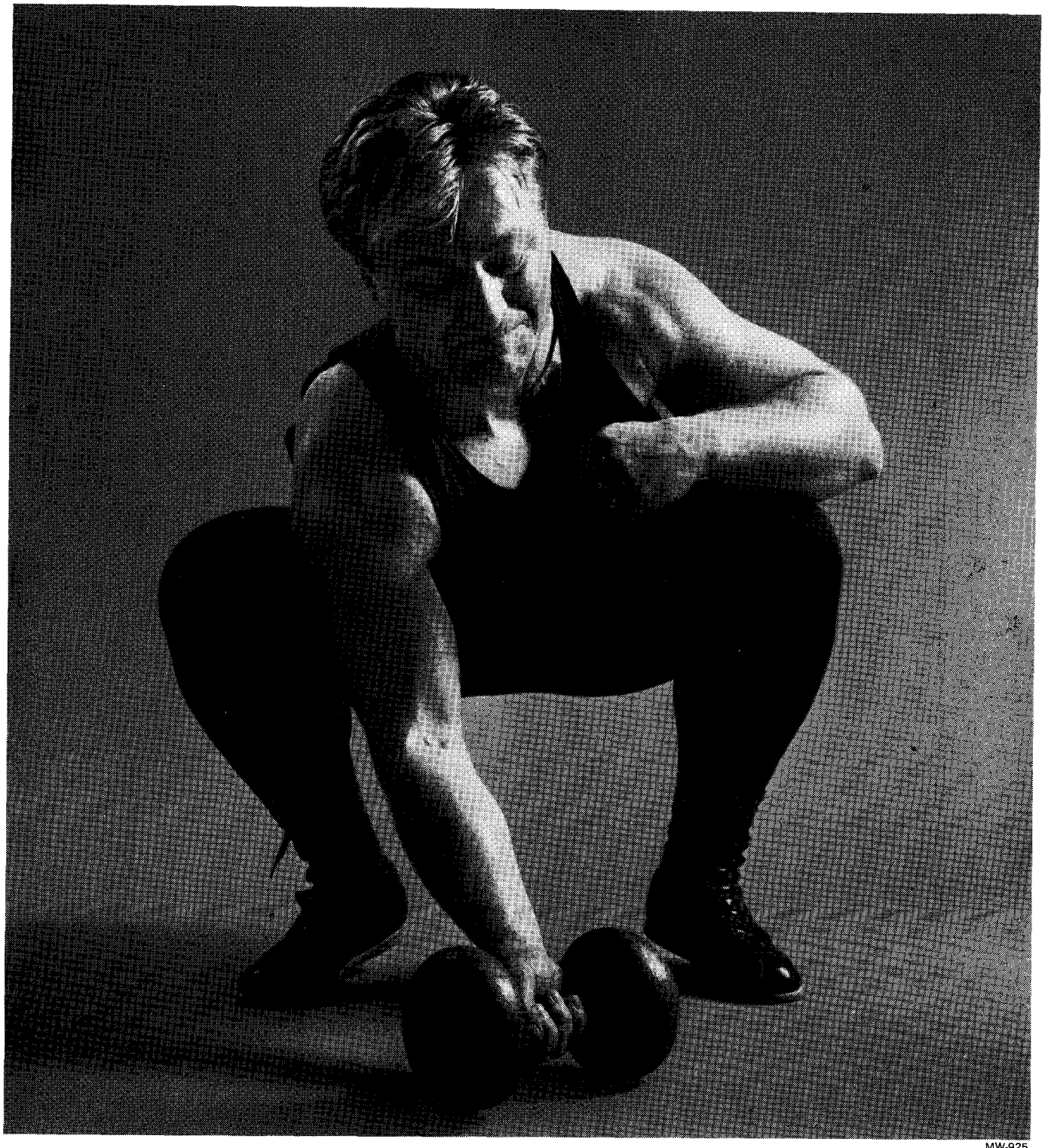
City/State_____ Zip_____

__My $30.00 check for a 3-month trial subscription is enclosed.

__My $108.00 check for a one year subscription—45 issues—is enclosed.

N-20

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



MW-925

This strong man is in for a surprise. The dumbbell is Kennertium.

Kennertium® W-2 packs a lot of weight into a small space. It's 62 percent heavier than an equal volume of lead, and has a density of 18.5 g/cc. Yet it can be machined, ground and even joined by brazing.

Kennertium stands up to thermal shock (water quench from 1900°F). Its tensile strength is 110,000 psi; its modulus of elasticity, 54,000,000 psi. That's right, 54 x 10^6.

Now if you're working with problems concerning weight and mass, these properties have got you thinking already.

Let us send you complete information about Kennertium and some of the uses to which it has been put so far . . . everything from self-winding devices in wrist watches to nuclear shielding. Write for our free booklet, "Heavy Tungsten Alloys," Kennametal Inc., Latrobe, Pa. 15650. Phone 412-537-3311.

KENNAMETAL®

The properties of our materials are also listed in SWEET'S, DESIGN NEWS ANNUAL and MATERIALS ENGINEERING Materials Selector Issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Multiversity Complex

For seven of the past eleven years, I have been an eyewitness to the University of Buffalo's degeneration into what is known as SUNY/Buffalo. Although I do not agree entirely with his characterization of the Buffalo climate, the remainder of John R. Coyne's article ["The End of the Multiversity," June 2] is "right on."

Snyder, N.Y. ROBERT E. KELLER

Judicial Might and Rights

Though I enjoyed the articulate, James J. Kilpatrick's "Back to Segregation by Order of the Courts" as a dyed-in-the-wool liberal and an ardent advocate of integration, I must take issue with the distinguished author's conclusions. Mr. Kilpatrick is exactly "right" in his assertion that recent decisions of the Supreme Court have tended to tilt the judicial scales in favor of the black man. This minority slant does appear to be in contradiction with earlier Court decisions and legislative enactments.

However, I would like to raise some questions: Hasn't the Constitution's greatest forte been its adaptability (i.e., the ability of the government—any branch—to adopt to change with modifications of the nation), and in this case, the Court's response to growing black nationalism? Isn't it a little crass for us whites to preach rule of law when these very same methods (rule of law) were used to enslave black folk for centuries? And if the law tilts a bit toward the black's favor, need we raise our voices, when after all, law was codified, legislated, and adjudicated by whites and for their own benefit for over three hundred years?

Birmingham, Ala. JOE KOSYDON

Personally, I feel that the "free choice" aspect of this problem will be the ultimate solution, although completely. As Mr. Kilpatrick states near the end of his article, hopefully elements of free choice will regain judicial approval.

We have had two constitutional amendments that, in my humble opinion, dealt with human nature. First they passed the Prohibition Amendment—drinking was illegal. Then they repealed that Amendment—drinking was again legal. What is this but human nature, good or bad, in action? The same may be said of this problem, good or bad, people will be people, and you can't legislate against human nature. It's got to manifest itself with a free will and choice.

Santa Monica, Calif. N. G. NYERGES

(Continues on page 747)

DON'T WOLF IT DOWN.

There's a limit to how much you can enjoy a good Bourbon, and you know what it is. It's your limit, and once you go outside it, you can't appreciate our Bourbon or anyone else's. And since we take the time to age Beam's Choice for eight years, and the care to charcoal filter it, the least you can do is take the trouble to learn how to handle it.

8 YEARS OLD. 86 & 90 PROOF. KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY. DISTILLED AND BOTTLED BY THE JAMES B. BEAM DISTILLING CO. CLERMONT, BEAM, KENTUCKY.

CONSERVATIVES ARE BIG THIS YEAR!

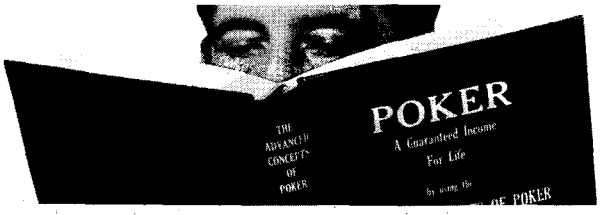
Much in demand, that is. Conservatives have shown substantial gains for the last few elections and now we're being taken seriously. People who never paid the least bit of attention are suddenly interested. We notice it in the requests for speakers we are already getting from non-conservative groups. If this is any indication it's going to get harder and harder to find a good conservative speaker. They all will have been spoken for, so to speak. Don't let this happen to you or your organization. If you want to launch a candidacy, put some life into your campaign, create publicity, sell tickets for any worthy cause—you need a good speaker. And you get the best at Catherine Babcock, Inc. So why not take the first step now. Just drop us a line.

Write today to:

Catherine Babcock INC. 544 Southside Rd., Virginia Beach, Va.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHY IS THIS BOOK BECOMING AN INTERNATIONAL BEST SELLER?



Why are thousands of poker players quietly buying this book? Why are non-poker players beginning to buy this book? Why has the largest book mail order advertiser in the world tried to purchase the rights to market this book to non-poker players? What is so valuable about this book? Consider what the reviewers are saying:

But more important, consider what those who have bought this book are saying:

"The entertainment value of the book far exceeds its cost, even to a non-poker player." H. C., Maryland

"Have read it 3 times. Very readable — even for those who couldn't care less about poker." R. C., Washington

"One of the most intelligently written books I have ever read — regardless of the subject." A. S., New York

"Informative and interesting but above all, inspiring." R. M., New York

"Excellent application of one-upmanship to poker. Already paid for in $ and pleasure of observation." N. W., Texas

"Vastly superior to other books published." E. G., Illinois

"Very interesting and informative; a good insight into human behavior — and greed." W. B., California

"I have read your poker manual with great enthusiasm. Most of the prevailing poker books attempt to tell you how to play poker, yours tells you how to win money." S. V., Texas

"Best book of its kind." M. L., New York

"Of all the poker books I have, I find this one the most knowledgeable." L. R., New York

"Interesting — Grim — Realistic." J. C., Texas

"A wealth of new ideas and concepts." F. L., New York

"Something very novel and original in Poker Manuals. Very enlightening and enjoyable." I. F., California

"The best book on poker that I have ever read." F. L., California

"I can recall losing money in games where the techniques Dr. Wallace describes were used against me. After reading the book, I am gradually applying Wallace's principles to my games, with 100% success so far!" J. S., Colorado

You can buy this $12.50 hardbound book from the publisher for $9.95 (postpaid) *until 8/31/70*

I & O PUBLISHING COMPANY, Box 644, Wilmington, Delaware 19899

☐ Enclosed is my check or money order for $9.95 for my copy of POKER, A GUARANTEED INCOME FOR LIFE by using the ADVANCED CONCEPTS OF POKER by Dr. F. R. Wallace.

☐ This is a gift. Charge to ☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club. Account # _____

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

10-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

"POKER A GUARANTEED INCOME FOR LIFE by using the ADVANCED CONCEPTS OF POKER"

A NEW BOOK
AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

Rx Sports and Travel Reports:

"A lot of people who have always figured themselves to be poker players are going to find they belong with the ribbon clerks before they've read two pages of a new book by a plain-talking scholar."

- ***"Starts in where the other poker manuals fold."***
- ***"Dr. Wallace demolishes many a cherished poker rule of thumb."***
- ***"If you're a poker player, this book would have to be the best $12.50 investment you've made."***

This 100,000-word manual is now available after many years of preparation by Frank R. Wallace, Ph.D. This book shows, step by step, how you can win considerable money by applying the "Advanced Concepts of Poker". Thousands of players from all over the world are quietly buying this book. This is what reviewers are saying:

"Cutthroat. May shock the casual reader. One of the most readable and informative volumes to appear." New Haven Register

"A valuable eye opener." The Providence, Vancouver, B.C.

"Presumably unobtainable at Las Vegas." Milwaukee Journal and King Features Syndicate

"If poker is your thing, then this is your book." Bookman's Weekly

"Concentrates on the most important aspect—winning!" The Book Exchange, London

"Shows how to psycho-poker-analyze opponents, how to read them, and how to milk them to their last dollar." American Bridge Teachers Association Quarterly

"Designed for players who want to make poker a means of livelihood." Rouge et Noir News

HERE ARE A FEW OF THE 120 ADVANCED CONCEPTS REVEALED:

- **How to be an honest player who cannot lose at poker.**
- **How to increase your advantage so greatly that you can break most games at will.**
- **How to avoid winning too fast.**
- **How to extract maximum money from opponents.**
- **How to keep big losers in the game.**
- **How to drive winning players from the game.**
- **How to lie and practice deceit. (Only in poker can you do this and remain a heroic gentleman.)**
- **How to see unexposed cards without cheating.**
- **How to remember all exposed cards and ghost hands.**
- **How to read closed hands of opponents.**
- **How to beat dishonest players.**
- **How to control the rules.**
- **How to stimulate poor attitudes in opponents.**
- **How to make a good player disintegrate into a poor one.**
- **How to manipulate opponents through distractions and hypnosis.**
- **How to locate or create new games for bigger profits.**
- **How to operate Major and Minor League games with a Farm System.**

Any or all of the 120 "Advanced Concepts of Poker" can be mastered by using the unique DTC technique, which will allow you to control poker games and their players.

In addition to offering these powerful, money-making concepts, this book is an in-depth, definitive treatment of poker. The appendix, for example, contains the most complete glossary, bibliography, history . . . and the only accurately defined tables of odds ever published.

And, very important, the fundamental errors embraced by the 133 poker books published in the past ninety years are systematically pointed out in this radically different book.

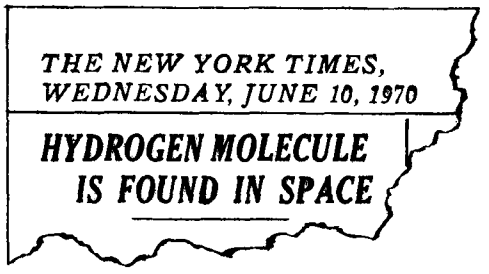
This book is also crucial for defense . . . for protection against players secretly using these concepts to extract your money.

PLEASE NOTE

This book is not only crucial to poker players, but is important to all individuals interested in the principles of maximizing money making situations (while remaining impeccably honest).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK



There goes the neighborhood.

■ Most useless Supreme Court decision of the session: The Penn Central must pay $28 million more for the New Haven Railroad properties than the ICC's 1968 award of $146 million.

■ On being introduced by the President to the forty big wheel business and financial leaders assembled at the White House May 27, Arthur Burns, newly appointed head of the Federal Reserve Board, prefaced his generally optimistic analysis of the state of the economy with a smiling adaptation from Churchill: "I didn't take this job to preside over a depression."

■ It begins to dawn. California's Senate Finance Committee has denied any salary increase for state university faculty next year. And here's how UC president Charles Hitch explains it to the professors: "You should know that these legislative actions reflect widespread public antagonism. . . . Many legislators believe that the basic academic purposes of our campuses are being distorted and subverted, that academic credit is being given for work that is not appropriate, and that the atmosphere of the campuses has become politicized with freedom only for some views and not for others."

■ Violent "dissent" is the work of isolated individuals and small groups—or is it? At a National Association of Fire Fighters seminar on incendiary devices, one participant described a device used to set a fire at an Illinois college. Suddenly hands went up all over the room—firefighters from up and down the nation said identical devices had been used to start fires at colleges in their areas.

■ ". . . the approach of the critics of the Administration is wholly a negative one. . . . None have suggested how we might 'Stop the War.' . . . We might endeavor to negotiate with Hanoi for an unimpeded withdrawal. Previous experience in endeavoring to negotiate with Hanoi indicates that such an effort would be futile. . . . We might order a unilateral ceasefire. No easier way could be suggested for our Army to commit suicide. We might just retreat, with the hope of being able safely to evacuate all our forces. Since we are in contact with the enemy in many places, we could expect that, as we withdraw, they will advance. As our forces become smaller, the pressure will increase. The casualties will go up, not down. . . . To protect the departure of our last remaining troops we should have to resort to saturation bombing, and perhaps offshore bombardment, and thus destroy the very country that we came to help four Presidents ago. We thus come full circle to the point—that the President's plan is not only the best, but the only feasible one . . . efforts to hamper him in the discharge of his constitutional duty by legislative curbs and otherwise do not help." *Letter from Harold Harper to the Editor of the* N.Y. Times, *June 27.*

■ Czechs curious to know exactly why Alexander Dubcek was thrown out of the Communist Party last week got an explanation the following morning on the front page of *Rude Pravo*, in an article signed by its editor-in-chief Miraslav Moc. It was very simply because of "Dubcek's violation of the statutes, his responsibility for ideological and organizational disruption, his 'two-faced' policy, ideological capitulation, lack of principles, lack of firmness that permitted disruption of the political organization of socialist society [which] caused heavy damage to the national economy, responsibility for the violation of international and allied relations with the USSR and the fraternal Communist parties of the socialist countries, for capitulation to counterrevolutionary anti-Communist forces." In addition to which, Brezhnev didn't like his face.

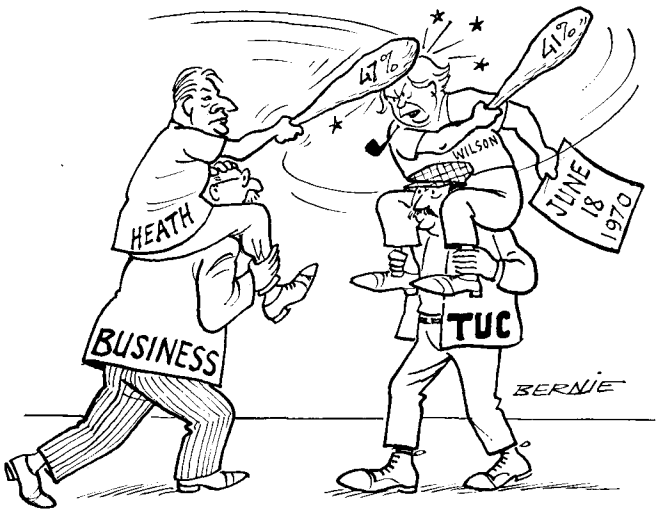
■ King Baudouin was back in the Congo last week to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its liberation from him. And he came as honored guest of Col. Mobutu, the Congolese strongman who outlasted all the others and who has brought a measure of peace and prosperity to his country. The mines are reopened. Roads have been rebuilt. Belgians once again staff many of the offices and teach in the schools and universities from which they were expelled in the bloody aftermath of independence. What is gone for good is the dreamy illusion that took such a terrible toll in money and in blood—that the Congo and other black African states could make the leap from colonial dependency to full-fledged democracy overnight. Left to their own, most of the successful newly independent states in Africa have evolved authoritarian one-party governments that seem, the more's the pity, to fit their needs.

Tom Wicker Isn't Well

The patient's pulse is rapid.
  The respiration's weak.
The eyes are rolling madly;
  He cannot always speak.
The wonder drugs aren't working.
  (The doctor is a *dunce.*)
One remedy will save him:
  Let's integrate at once.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



■ The Conservative victory in England may bring cheaper prices for chrome. During the campaign, the Tories said they would lift the ban on imports from Rhodesia. Under said ban, in which the U.S. cooperated, we were forced to find another chrome supplier. The other supplier turned out to be Russia. Very mysteriously, the price of chrome began to soar—until Russian chrome was costing us twice as much as Rhodesia's. United States importers are itching to deal with dirty capitalists once again.

■ Happy day. For a dozen years Jean-Paul Sartre denounced just about every imperialism in sight: U.S. imperialism, French imperialism, U.S. imperialism, British imperialism, U.S. imperialism. Anything the West did, he branded as barbarous, fascistic, monstrous, aggressive. Last week, he got around to denouncing the Soviet Union and *its* imperialism—"The Thing," which has "mobilized men-things, heads of beasts becoming heads of brick, all possessed by the lust of power"; which tromped into Czechoslovakia (quite some time ago, J-P) and killed "socialism with a human face"; which Must Go: "The people must seize it and dump it into the garbage can." Right on!—but don't think Sartre has gone straight. The bad old West still Must Go also, according to the Maoist weekly *La Cause du Peuple,* of which Sartre is the publisher (the previous publishers having been jailed for provoking crimes against the state and defending theft, murder, pillage and arson). In France, a publisher is legally responsible for what appears in his paper; Sartre was arrested, but only for a few minutes lest he be made a martyr. He's doing all this, mind, as a gesture in behalf of that old human-faced summum bonum, Maoist China. In twenty, Sartre may discover about China what he has discovered about the Soviet Union a couple of generations after the average illiterate found out about it.

■ Three years ago the Federal Government, not having enough to do, put up the money for a three-year study of mental health among children of Westchester County between the ages of three and eighteen. The results are now in, and the eight-column headline is, "Mental Health Study Concludes Two-Thirds of Westchester's Three-to-Eighteen-Year Olds Suffer Impairment." Well, three-thirds of the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW conclude that if two-thirds of Westchester's children are emotionally unbalanced, then maybe the people who make up the questions on the basis of which you decide who's unbalanced need help, and we don't mean more federal money.

■ It's odd. The Constitution has been around since 1789, and McSorley's Old Ale House since 1853, and yet only now are we told that any woman denied admittance to McSorley's (as all women have always been) is therefore denied equal protection of the law. So ruled a New York judge; so goes McSorley's—and meanwhile out in California, designer Rebecca Welles was vowing to put American men in midi-skirts by 1971, because "the trouble with the American male is that he is hung up on being a male," which leaves us wondering what the ladies who sued to get into McSorley's are hung up on.

■ The concept "for Church and country" is being revitalized, this time in the form of a statement ratified by the Student Alliance for Christian Renewal in America. The members of SACRA, imbued with the wish "to do good to all men, laying aside all malice, deceit, pretense, envy and slander, always remembering the words of the Lord," drafted the Fordham Statement, dedicating themselves to the support and defense of both the United States and the Catholic Church, and the advancement of the basic principles of each. Good to know someone still cares.

■ As a group, college-educated Americans have been and are more "hawkish" on Vietnam than the population as a whole. . . . There appears to be no discernible "generation gap" on the war issue—as many young people support the President's conduct of the war as do older citizens. . . . Generally, the more informed about and attentive to the Indochina situation one is, the more firmly one supports the American involvement. Fantasy? Not at all. These are among the findings of two scholars at the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, based on careful scrutiny of ten years of Gallup and Harris polls together with the Center's own samplings. Other interesting results (published in the June *Scientific American*): While "disenchantment" with our involvement in Vietnam has grown steadily (from 25 per cent in 1966 to almost 60 per cent today), "among those who viewed the war as a mistake almost as many favored escalation as were for withdrawal." . . . "The net effect of vigorous protest in the streets has been to shift mass opinion toward renewed support of the President." . . . President Nixon has behind him not one, but three majorities: "those regretting American involvement in Vietnam, those wanting to reduce the nation's commitment there and the large majority rejecting complete withdrawal as an alternative."

■ Sander Vanocur on student activists: "Most are very peaceful and very intelligent." Sander Vanocur on the war in Vietnam: "We have written about it and talked on the air about it, but nothing has been done." Sander Vanocur on objectivity: "True objectivity is to indulge in more subjectivity. . . ." And Sander Vanocur on Vice President

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The day humanity lost its innocence

On a lonely island in the Pacific, one day in 1835 humanity lost its innocence—for it was then that Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution was born. And when, years later, he unleashed upon an unsuspecting world his bold idea that all living creatures, including man, had descended from a common ancestor, it became impossible for man ever again to look upon himself as he had for the previous five thousand years!

The Voyage of the Beagle—Charles Darwin's fascinating account of his five year voyage, traces the birth of his convictions. This book has affected your personal life—for Darwin's Theory of Evolution profoundly shaped the world you live in.

We invite you now to accept *The Voyage of the Beagle,* magnificently bound and illustrated as a FREE GIFT—to introduce you to a remarkable new series of BOOKS THAT HAVE CHANGED MAN'S THINKING.

There are, in all the world, only a few such books. But these are books of tremendous importance because each of them has had a great effect upon our daily lives. They are books which have literally shaped the world and helped to mold us into the creatures we are today. And if we are to understand ourselves, we must have some knowledge of these great books that have changed man's thinking.

Some of these books are fascinating narratives like Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle,* or novels like Cervantes' hilarious *Don Quixote* or Orwell's satirical allegory *Animal Farm,* which you will read with deep enjoyment. Others are books of which you will read only a few pages at a time, over a span of years, like Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* or Dante's *Divine Comedy.* But all are books that you will want to refer to again and again as the years go by! Together, they form an important part of what you are and what you believe in!

A Collection of Finely Bound Volumes

THE PRIDE OF YOUR HOME LIBRARY. Each volume comes to you bound in luxurious, golden-stamped, matching covers of permanent Skivertex. Each contains, besides the great work itself, a full appreciation of approximately 40 instructive and fascinating pages written by a leading authority of our day, which explains for you why the work is important, shows you the doors it has opened for mankind, how it has changed our world forever... increases the enjoyment and value of these volumes for you and your family. Each one is profusely illustrated to add to your pleasure and understanding.

The first volume is *The Voyage of the Beagle,* and if you like it you may keep it free. The second volume is Voltaire's *Candide*—a reading experience we guarantee you will never forget. Both books are splendidly bound to reflect the importance of their contents and the taste of their owner. *Candide* will be sent to you together with *The Voyage of the Beagle* and you may keep it if you like as your *first selection* in the series at the special subscriber's price of just $3.89.

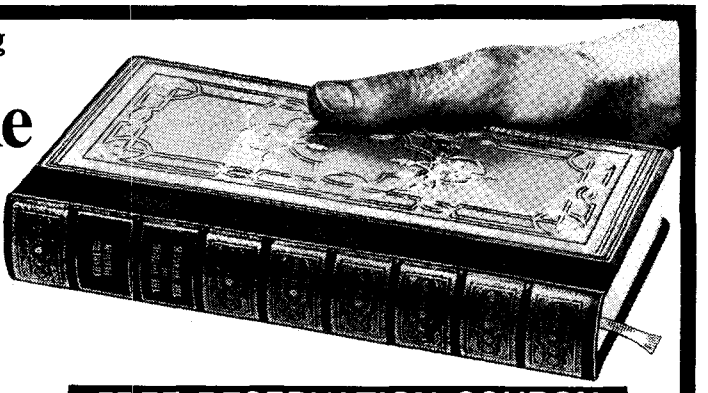
If you are not delighted with the books that we will send you immediately, simply return them all within 10 days—you'll owe nothing and that ends the matter right there. Otherwise—if you are as pleased as we expect you will be—you get, for just as long as you wish, a new selection monthly of the BOOKS THAT HAVE CHANGED MAN'S THINKING, to build gradually a beautiful and distinguished collection. For these volumes you pay only the low subscriber's price of $3.89. You may cancel your subscription whenever you wish. You never have to accept more books than you really want. And you need send no money to start, not even a deposit. Just mail the coupon today!

© 1969 by Heron Books, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019

Accept as your first Book That Changed Man's Thinking

CHARLES DARWIN'S

The Voyage of the Beagle FREE



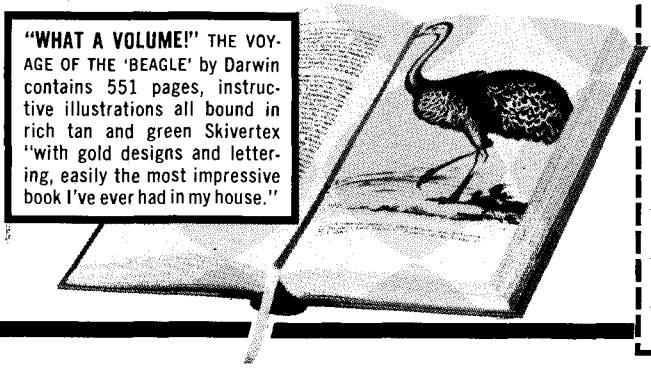
A *NEW YORK TIMES* editor calls it

"Easily the most impressive book I've ever had in my house!"

...AND WE WOULD LIKE TO GIVE IT TO YOU FREE!

Send for your free copy and share the delight of Herbert Lottman, international literary critic, who wrote the following in the New York Times Book Review:

"WHAT A VOLUME!" THE VOYAGE OF THE 'BEAGLE' by Darwin contains 551 pages, instructive illustrations all bound in rich tan and green Skivertex "with gold designs and lettering, easily the most impressive book I've ever had in my house."



FREE RESERVATION COUPON

HERON BOOKS, 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019

Please send me the *Voyage of the Beagle* and *Candide* as the first two volumes of BOOKS THAT HAVE CHANGED MAN'S THINKING. Unless I'm delighted, I will return them and owe nothing. If I decide to keep them, however, *The Voyage of the Beagle* is mine free. And you will bill me only the low subscriber price of $3.89 plus shipping for *Candide.* From then on, for as long as I wish to keep up my subscription you will send me at the same low subscriber price new matching volumes of BOOKS THAT HAVE CHANGED MAN'S THINKING as they are issued at about monthly intervals. I may terminate my subscription at any time on 10 days' written notice.

SIGNATURE .....
(if under 21, parent or guardian must sign)

Print Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **ZIP** _____

FOR CANADA: Return coupon to us. Special arrangements for servicing Canadian subscriptions have been made. **B-19**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Agnew: "He's full of crap." Look who's talking.

■ Some kids at Miami University in Ohio were on strike. What else to do but have a flush-in? The students got together and flushed everything flushable at the same time, and then did it again a couple of hours later. The flushing emptied three million gallons from reservoirs, caused manhole covers to pop off and almost inundated the sewage treatment plant. But all this is nothing. What matters is that our kids are learning to work against the system without hurting themselves. There might have been a few sprained thumbs, but nothing like the Greenwich Village disaster. We're happy.

Revolution Now

Over the weekend of June 27-28 a spectrum of American radicals held a strategy conference on the campus of the University of Wisconsin. The plans projected a qualitative leap in revolutionary tactics. Groups represented at the conference included the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Black Panthers, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Conspiracy, the Moratorium, Women Strike for Peace, *and* the Ripon Society. Some samples:

Rennie Davis and Arthur Waskow proposed what they called a Long, Long March. Their marchers would establish collectives in such symbolic places as Kent, Ohio and Jackson, Mississippi. Very slowly they would march on Washington, gathering sympathizers as they went. Finally assembled in Washington, the masses would block offices, disrupt the government, and "force" an end to the war.

Professor Douglas Dowd of Cornell had a similar vision. He anticipated some "disastrous" government action, such as court trials for Black Panthers or strict welfare legislation. Should some such outrage come to pass, he said, there must be "deliberate blocking of all kinds of transportation," and "as much upheaval and disruption as possible."

Meanwhile, the emergence of Daniel Berrigan, a radical priest, as a totem of the Left signals a similar quantitative change. Heretofore, civil disobedience has been employed to direct attention to alleged wrongs, but the lawbreaker himself has been willing to pay the legal penalty for his disobedience. What this implied was the existence of a limited and particular evil within a system to which the lawbreaker still wished to belong. Berrigan, convicted along with eight others of barbecuing draft files with napalm, has now gone underground—though he grants interviews to the press (see the *Times Magazine,* June 28). The meaning of Berrigan's course is clear: internal emigration, war with the surrounding society—us. And his sudden eminence is ominous.

As things move forward in this way, prudence dictates that the possible course of events be anticipated. What scenarios are now foreshadowed by the mood of the revolutionary American Left? There are variations, but they boil down to three.

1) Some militant groups anticipate what might be called "conventional" urban insurrection, conventional because precedents exist in such events as the Paris Commune (1871), the Dublin Easter Rising (1916), and the Shanghai insurrection (1927). The formation of substantial paramilitary groups such as the Panthers points in the direction of this possibility. Col. Robert B. Rigg, writing in the January 1968 *Army* Magazine, observes that "in the next decade at least one major metropolitan area could be faced with guerrilla warfare requiring sizable United States Army elements."

Such a conventional urban insurrection presumably would involve: the sealing off of a neighborhood by white radical and black nationalist paramilitary units, the sniper interdiction of streets, the setting up of communes and the declaration of a "liberated" area. It is quite clear that on a long-term basis this would fail, as did the Paris Commune and the other conventional urban insurrections. They have no logistical base, and no communication with the outside. But on a short-term basis, such a seizure might exert leverage. Demands could be issued over the Liberation Radio; the insurrection would have allies in the outer society; like any college administrator, the government might engage in "negotiations."

2) But for a long-haul revolutionary effort, the establishment of an underground guerrilla structure would seem preferable. For this, again, there are now "classical" precedents. Small groups, organized into "triads" to inhibit the effects of infiltration, could move from city to city. Protected by sympathizers, much as Berrigan is now protected, they would be difficult to apprehend. Tactical and strategic assaults could include: arson, ambushes of police, terrorism against the outer civilian population, attacks on utilities and on airlines. This strategy would produce substantial disruption, further exacerbating the "contradictions" within the society. As the society proved less efficient, solving fewer of its problems, the revolutionary movement would gain adherents. But such dislocation would also produce a counter-demand, for the kind of repression that would destroy the movement at any mo-

These Men Are Dangerous

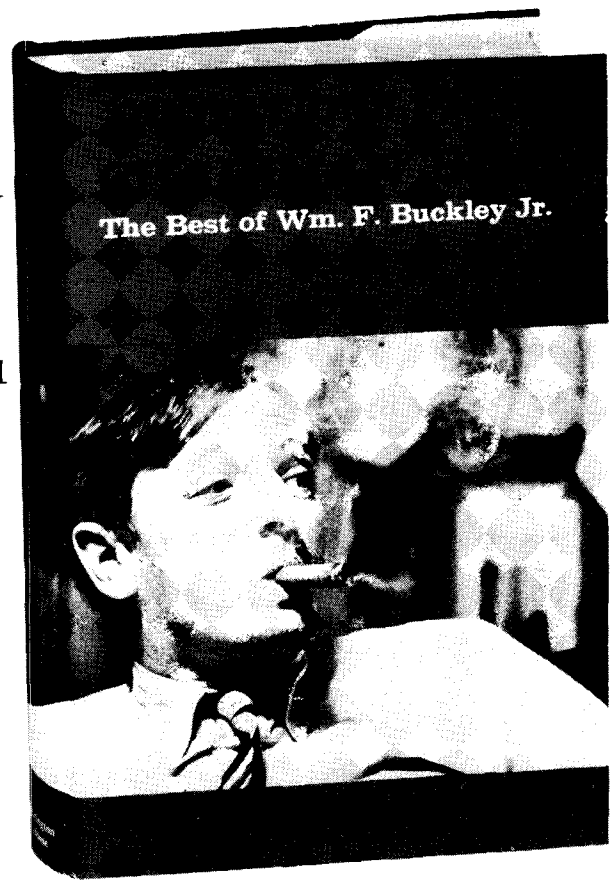
Twelve self-appointed Mr. Cleans,
The *Wednesday Luncheon Group* convenes
Each week in Washington to map
What to endorse and what to scrap.
To name a few, there's Edward Brooke,
Jack Javits, Percy, Cooper, Cook,
Goodell and Hatfield, Clifford Case . . .
All pop-eyed over Peace and Race.
Though only twelve, they pack a punch.
For instance, over Wednesday lunch
They hog-tied Haynsworth; Carswell, too.
Therefore, some fall, if I were you
I'd make the rascals face the truth—
Then nail them in the voting booth.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you've heard about this book (who hasn't?) and you want to get a copy now (who wouldn't?) Then this special offer is for you (read on!)

Last chance!



This is the book that everyone's been waiting for! "Quotations from Chairman Bill" has over 300 pages of Bill Buckley at his individual sharpest and wittiest! There are almost 900 quotations (handily arranged by topic). You'll find Buckley's most memorable comments on people like Gore Vidal, Ted Kennedy, Robert McNamara, LBJ, Ted Sorensen, Eleanor Roosevelt, Jacob Javits, Dr. Spock, Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay, the Beatles, Eugene McCarthy, David Susskind, Susan Sontag, Ralph Ginzburg and many, many more!

Other subjects covered (in the Buckley style) include: Drugs, the Sexual Revolution, Welfare, The New York Times, The New York Post, the CIA, Civil Rights, the Church, the Berkeley riots, the Bay of Pigs and, well . . . the list goes on and on . . . including just about anything that might turn up in your *own* discussions and arguments.

Here are some examples of Chairman Bill in action:

"A witticism of John Lindsay is recorded that when he was the Congressman for Manhattan and voted on a single day against a subversive control bill and against an obscenity control bill, that he commented to an aide that Congress was trying to crack down on his constituency's two major products."

". . . though liberals do a great deal of talking about hearing other points of view, it sometimes shocks them to learn that there *are* other points of view."

"I am obliged to confess that I should sooner live in a society governed by the first two thousand names in the Boston telephone directory than in a society governed by two thousand faculty members of Harvard University . . ."

"If the behavior of the policemen [at the 1968 Democratic Convention] was . . . a reflection of the systematic totalitarian corruption by Mayor Daley, then surely the question should have arisen, how come Mayor Daley was the favorite Mayor of John and Bobby Kennedy? . . ."

"Quotations From Chairman Bill" brings you the choicest quotes from everything Wm. F. Buckley has written: his books, articles, speeches, newspaper columns, plus many unsigned editorials from ***National Review*** *never before reprinted. "Quotations from Chairman Bill" is already one of the most talked-about (and quoted from) books of the season . . . Order your copy from us* ***now!*** *and save over $4.00 on the price of the book.*

You can get this popular brand-new book anywhere for the retail price of $6.95 but we felt that since so many of our readers have heard about it and will certainly want to add it to their personal library that we'd make a special combination offer: Pay just $2.95 plus your own renewal (or a new subscription) to *National Review* and you'll receive "Quotations From Chairman Bill" for less than half price!!

(We must ask you to enclose payment with your order. By saving billing costs, we can pass the savings on to you and offer "Quotations from Chairman Bill" at this low price! Fill out and mail the card facing the page today! Our supply of books is limited. Many thanks!)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment. This strategy has not yet been employed in a modern industrialized context, and its prospects must therefore be considered as open.

3) Finally, there is the possibility of sustained nonviolent disruption of the society. In this scenario, centers would be set up to train and indoctrinate, and various kinds of campaigns are envisionable. At the present time a considerable body of literature and several paradigmatic organizations are devoted to these strategies. The actions proposed are: strikes, boycotts, tax refusal, slowdowns, "overloading" (such as demanding a hearing from the draft board every day), obstruction, every kind of disruptive activity short of violence, whether legal or illegal. On the scale projected in the theoretical literature, this strategy has never been attempted; nor would it require the participation of even a large minority, for it could not command such numbers. Yet even the "small" minority of students—the 5 per cent—considered to be militant activists numbers some 300,000. Since both the numbers and the social circumstances are unprecedented, the prospects of this tactic are, again, open.

Protracted Republican Conflict

In one of the strongest statements made recently, Sen. Mark Hatfield reflected the continuing struggle for the Administration's ideological helm. Nixon's "Southern strategy," said Hatfield, indeed Nixon's general rightwardness, are so gross and off-putting that Nixon may be dumped by the Party in 1972, and furthermore—brace yourself—the Party thus disgusted by Nixon's conservatism would then nominate Ronald Reagan. Translation: Hatfield a) thinks Nixon has moved too far to the Right, and b) is threatening everybody with his own version of the Bogeyman, i.e., Reagan, and c) has difficulty thinking.

To the right of Nixon, Reagan, maintaining strategic visibility, came forward with a tough statement of opposition to the Administration's welfare reform package. "The cost of the program could increase federal welfare spending by as much as $15 billion a year. This means an average increase of $275 a year from every taxpayer. . . . Philosophically, I simply must be opposed to a government-guaranteed income. . . ." The list of Republicans opposing this scheme continues to grow.

Then Spiro Agnew and Robert Finch squared off over Joseph Rhodes, the Harvard Junior Fellow named to Nixon's commission on campus unrest. Inexplicably, Agnew objected to Rhodes' statement that Ronald Reagan wanted to kill people. This is our investigator? wondered Agnew aloud, giving Finch a chance to burnish his liberal image by defending the indefensible Rhodes.

Down in the bureaucracy it was similarly tug-shove. In Henry Kissinger's foreign policy shop young staffers were resigning over Cambodia, among them, for example, Anthony Lake, former president of the Harvard Young Democrats, yes, Young Democrats, who had helped in the writing of Nixon's long State of the World message some months back. Leon Panetta and Anthony Moffett recently left after finding Nixon insufficiently zealous on integration, James E. Allen is gone from HEW, and Walter Hickel on the skids at Interior. Up in New York running for re-election to the Senate, Charles Goodell attacked Nixon and requested that Agnew keep out of the state, and if Richard Ottinger, the Democratic candidate, thinks he is going to be able to get to the left of Goodell he is in for a bit of political education. But then Goodell can't get into the White House, even on the guided tour.

Bonaparte and the Iron Duke

Any head of government smug enough to stake his political life on opinion polls based on 1,500-voter samples and puffed up enough to pick the anniversary of Waterloo as the date for an election deserves what Harold Wilson got. Mary Wilson was about the only person in Britain to feel sorry for him when, the next day, he was hustled out the back door of No. 10 Downing Street, as sober, dogged Iron Duke Heath (see Anthony Lejeune, page 730) strode in the front.

How much difference does a change of party make? In a large, modern nation, not very much, as a rule—much less than candidates promise or threaten in the campaign. The inertia of the existing situation is too great, the options too limited by the given institutions, attitudes, commitments, problems, half-finished programs, to allow much leeway. Prime Minister Ted Heath had nothing, personally, to do with bringing about the troubles in Northern Ireland, but there they were, erupting into gunfire and death three days after he kissed the Queen's hand. Britain's monetary reserves are for a Tory Chancellor what they were the day before for his Labor predecessor. The new leaders do not carry new machine tools, new computers, new mines or new oil wells in their luggage. The election is not a revolution, and the new party must go on from where the old left off.

But though the changes can't be very great, there are changes; the election is not mere charade. Happily, the changes we may expect from this shift in Britain are almost all for the better. Prime Minister Heath won't try again, as the Tories did their last time, to de-nationalize steel, and he won't abolish the National Health Service, but he will pursue fiscal and monetary policies designed, within the possibilities, to invigorate enterprise, not stifle it. He will lighten the sway of ideology over policy, and thus, instead of giving equalization a veto power, will seek to increase the well-being of the population even if in the process some citizens get rich; and he will sell warships or aircraft to South Africa if this can increase the security of the southern seas. He will get down to businesslike negotiations about joining the Common Market, and will, if he can, reverse Labor's decision to renounce all responsibility east of Suez. He will do what he can, free of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any conflict of interest, to bring the British trade unions under the law, at least sufficiently to reduce the wildcat strikes, in violation of contract, that have become the plague of British industry. Under his leadership, Britain will remain the good friend to the United States—though he may prove a tougher bargainer for British interest than the softer, slippery Harold Wilson, especially under the pressure from the isolationism and autarchic nationalism of the Enoch Powell wing.

"It would not be reading too much into these elections," writes André Fontaine, foreign editor of France's most influential newspaper, *Le Monde,* referring to the American, French and West German *länder* elections as well as to this most recent British vote, "to say that they demonstrate the satisfaction of a majority of the people with the society in which they live." A horrible conclusion for the Left to swallow.

The Middle East Again (Still)

The diplomatic initiatives launched in the Middle East last week are more important in nuance and in timing than in actual substance. Though not yet made public, the U.S. approach generally follows the November 1967 resolution of the UN, fleshing it out with some detailed suggestions: that both sides accept a ninety-day ceasefire, that Arab territories (all?) seized during the Six-Day War be returned, that the Arabs agree to respect Israeli borders, and that talks (not necessarily face-to-face) begin as soon as possible.

Not much new, but something. The deliberate "even-handedness" is clearly meant as a signal to the Arabs that the U.S. role is not simply that of Israel's protector and advocate. The timing of the initiative—its tacit connection with the decision on whether to sell Phantoms to the Israelis—indicates a willingness on the part of the Administration to exert at least some pressure on Israel to move toward a settlement. Heretofore Israel has shown little willingness to evacuate Arab land, and in a number of key areas has actually gone forward with colonization. American pressures, conceivably, could halt or reverse this process.

And there are other signs that suggest the possibility of diplomatic movement. The major and increasing threat posed by the Palestinian guerrillas to the government of Jordan must be read by Nasser as foreshadowing a similar threat to his own security. A settlement would therefore be in his interest. Equally important, the longer the war goes on, the more he will be forced into military dependence upon the Soviet Union: a prospect which has produced in him some signs of restiveness.

Finally, the article by George Ball in the *New York Times Magazine* (June 28) should be seen for what it is, a semi-official trial balloon. While stressing the Soviet menace, and giving assurance of his support for Israel, Ball added one new touch. He noted that neither Tel Aviv nor Cairo now has the capacity to negotiate a compromise agreement, and he concluded that an imposed solution is called for. Once again, movement away from the official Israeli position.

Despite these shifts in tactic and nuance, however, the nub of the problem remains untouched: the status of Jerusalem, and the fate of the Palestinian refugees. Until those problems are faced and settled, no agreement is possible, and the Soviet presence will take root.

Like Laocöon in the folds of the serpent, then, the Nixon Administration is struggling to modify a policy which in a relatively short period has moved the Arab world toward agreement for the first time since Mohammed, has all but unified it against us; put in jeopardy our entire strategic position in the Mediterranean; allowed Soviet power to penetrate the area on a massive and unprecedented scale; threatened our European allies, vital to our own security, with the loss of their petroleum supply; brought into being Marxist and Maoist movements in an area traditionally resistant to Communism; put in grave danger one of our major sources of foreign exchange earnings, and, simultaneously, has done nothing to assure the strategic survival of Israel. All in all, a brilliant policy indeed.

Marx Goes Statistical

The one industry that keeps booming along through these slump times is column-writing. Hardly a week goes by without the launching of a new pundit. Garry Wills, transmogrified into a dove in Aristotelian clothing, had scarcely been unveiled by his syndicate when Kevin Phillips, fresh from Attorney General John Mitchell's staff, bowed in *Newsday,* the influential Long Island newspaper recently bought by the expanding *Los Angeles Times* organization. Phillips, though not yet thirty years old, has become nationally known, feared and denounced as a key technician of the Nixon 1968 campaign and cold-toned author of *The Emerging Republican Majority,* which, with the help of mountains of demographic and electoral statis-

Gone Are the Days

They're tinkering with Stephen Foster:
Everything's improved.
"Old Folks At Home's" been fumigated!
(Massa talk's removed.)
"Oh, darkies how . . ." and "am a-ringing"
Will no more offend.
"Dat mournful sound's" upgraded; it's the
Pluralistic trend.
How nice to know that "Swanee River"'s
Dialect is Go.
But fifteen years from now, will kids be
Singing "Old Black Joe?"

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

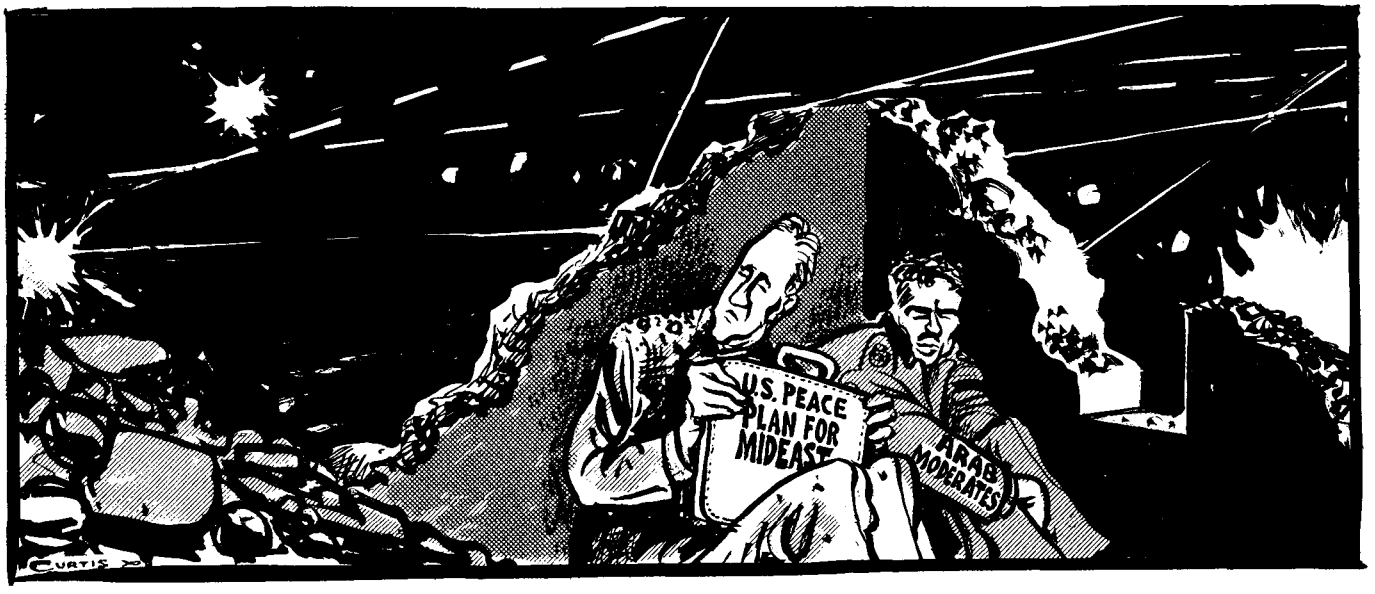
tics, argues that after a generation in the wilderness the Republican Party is back home to stay.

Mr. Phillips' first columns analyze the significance of George Wallace's primary win, arguing that its narrowness proves Wallace no longer a threat to Nixon ("WALLACE VICTORY SHOWS NIXON GAIN"), discuss parallels between the British Conservative Party and our Republican Party, and consider the impact of the youth vote. The scads of Phillipsian figures along with the terminology of "working class," "lower-middle class," "predominantly middle class," "hereditary establishment," "small farmer," "important class overtones," etc., confirm what his book also reveals as the theoretical basis for Mr. Phillips' mode of political analysis: a sort of neo-Marxism cum statistics. From this base Mr. Phillips has produced impressive results and we have no doubt that through his new column he will continue to present an acute and informative commentary on the political process in this country. But we shall keep in mind that his methodological framework—statistically developed class analysis—gives only a partial and therefore sometimes distorted and deceptive perspective on human beings and human society. In electoral statistics mankind is a herd in which each man is like every other, each counting as one. But in reality all men differ, and some are wiser, better, more active than others; some are leaders and most are led. And therefore, in understanding human beings a merely quantified analysis can never be proof against surprises. The Republicans may have a generation ahead as majority party, but they will have to rely on more than statistics to get it.

Temporizing

Principles are fine things to think about, but they often cause trouble when it comes to applying to them. *NR* is a sworn defender of the freedom of international trade, all trade among all nations. But . . . , but . . . there arise those prickly issues of national security and aiding a real or prospective enemy and open or concealed dumping and monetary and tax finagling, not to speak of sweat shop wages and the trials and tribulations of our own workers and manufacturers. In the abstract we would certainly be opposed to the quota system that Congress wants to impose on the soaring imports of Japanese textiles and that has finally got a reluctant go-ahead from the Administration after the breakdown of negotiations with the Japanese. We would be opposed in the abstract, but it is a fact that to trade with Japan is not like trading with any other nation. Japan's booming economy, now third in the world, is still joined to a largely autarchic, semi-feudal way of trading. Japan keeps her now vast internal market as pretty much the private domain of Japanese industry; no matter what the price, it is virtually impossible to get cars or computers or bathtubs or whatever in. Except for some products the Japanese do not yet make themselves imports are by and large confined to the raw materials that Japanese industry needs. And Japan uses a variety of fiscal, monetary and political devices, besides her hard-working people, to push her products—textiles very prominent among them—into foreign markets, above all into the United States.

While the Japanese economy was recovering from its almost total collapse at the end of the war, this having-it-both-ways had some justification, but the Japanese economy is grown up now. The ideal solution would be a real opening of the Japanese market in correlation with open markets in other nations for Japanese products. This not yet seeming to be in sight, the pressure of our textile manufacturers and unions, the sensitivity of Congress to such pressures, and perhaps a supplementary push from the Republicans' southern strategy, for some form of restriction is understandable. Let us hope any actions actually taken will be subordinated to the longer-term goal of opening both their markets wider to each other rather



The Refugees

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than closing them off. And let us hope—though we cannot very confidently—that restrictive action in this very special case of Japanese textiles will not become the excuse for a protectionist wave covering other commodities and other nations to which the special considerations do not at all apply.

After Penn Central

The collapse of Penn Central was of course foreseeable, the principal obstacles to the success of American railroads having been studiously ignored. They are of course a) the ICC, whose dead bureaucratic hand had prevented the railroads from exercising true independence; b) the unions, which—especially by the featherbedding and make-work rules—have imposed financial burdens on the railroads which are intolerable; c) the relative discrimination posed by the subsidy of the greater super-highways; and d) dull management, perhaps inevitable under these circumstances.

This is the moment when the future of the railroads will be determined. The financial mess requires action of one kind or another. The easy route is routine nationalization. It is, though not the least desirable route, less desirable than something a little more resourceful. We say it is not the least desirable, because the man-made mess that has sunk the railroads leaves us at the margin with the choice of running them as a public enterprise, or not running them at all. Better to run them publicly, than abandon them; even as we are better off with a public postal system of sorts, than with no postal system at all.

But one's experience with government-run enterprises in America is surely sufficient to warn against that seductive alternative. Friends of socialism always adduce the excellent nationalized railroads in some European countries as an argument for American nationalization. But there are differences, not the least of which is the cultural difference: The European temper is better disposed to public enterprise. Other, quite crucial differences, are European geography and the fact that the European railroads are much more greatly used, because of the relative scarcity, still, of the privately owned automobile and the speedway. They operate, moreover, at staggering losses which the governments subsidize. We will perhaps know, in a dozen years or so when as many Frenchmen own cars as Americans, what the government will do about its languishing railroads.

The government of the United States ought to proceed to nationalize the railroad beds, providing suitable compensation to the owners. The use of these beds should then be auctioned off, the service they are to provide having been stipulated, to the highest bidder, who would be free over the period of the lease, to organize freight and passenger service unencumbered by a) price restrictions imposed by Washington; or b) labor union contracts inherited from the old carriers. The accent would be on efficiency and service: Relieved of labor union make-work, taxes, and bureaucratic impositions, the railroads would be hugely successful. The government would earn (from the auction and perhaps a small tax on railroad tickets) the cost of acquisition and maintenance, even as it earns from gasoline taxes and tolls the cost of maintaining the superhighways. The new operators would proceed without the crippling capital costs which are the responsibility of the incumbent bankruptees. . . . A sensible solution, making way for private ingenuity to serve a social end. Mr. Nixon should call for legislation, and do so quickly, before the lazy enzymes of centripetalization do their work of persuading everybody that the only solution is one more vast socialized operation.

History Lesson

A U.S. Professor Instructs the Manchester Guardian Weekly *on V.I. Lenin:*

Sir: Your editorial of April 25 leaves out Lenin's major contribution to world history: the one-party state, totally despotic and totally conformist, today the formula of more than three score independent states. Lenin seized power on November 7, 1917, overthrowing not the Czarist regime but a republican government of democratic socialists and liberals; on November 17 was established a more rigid censorship than had ever existed in Russia; on December 20 was organized one of the most efficient terroristic secret police that ever was; government "by the people, etc." ended with the eviction, on January 20, 1918, of a Constituent Assembly in which the majority of deputies disagreed with Lenin; terror began with the assassination on that day of two former republican ministers, Shingarev and Kokoshkin, and continued taking a toll which made the French Terror a children's game; concentration camps were set up in September; by the end of 1922, when Lenin was still in control, of the twenty-odd new "state formations" listed in the Statesman's Year Book of 1919, fifteen had been eliminated.

All this temporary, of course; all still there. Despotism, censorship, terrorism, colonialism, implicit in Lenin's dogmatism, are described by the *Guardian* as a "scientific and humanist alternative." Simple-minded individuals like the undersigned, also concerned with humanism and with the application of reason to human affairs, prefer what Lenin hated above everything else—democracy, which is nothing more complicated than the free election by universal suffrage of what the ancients called magistrates; which means divisions and tensions, and which has contributed more to man's progress than any Leninist or other dictatorship, ancient or modern. It is regrettable that through an unsigned editorial admiration for Lenin becomes the policy of the *Guardian*.

Yours truly,
Massimo Salvadori
Smith College
Northampton, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can American Education Survive One More Year Like the One We Have Just Been Through?

■ *The end of the school year caught many students, professors and parents constipated by the unavailability of appropriate media in which to express themselves. For the most part, student publications were dominated by the activist Left. Local newspapers do not usually encourage substantial accounts of private experiences or analysis. College presidents reply with form letters. Many people turned to* NATIONAL REVIEW, *some of them friends of mine, others total strangers. I publish here a selection of their letters, suppressing where the request has been made to do so the identity of the writer and, in some cases, the identity of his college. They are a stirring commentary on what it was like to go to school in the United States, in the spring of 1970.*
—WFB

A Student's Bitter Valedictory to His College

Dear Mr. Buckley,

Vince Rigdon here at Columbia suggested that I send you a copy of this letter to the Columbia administration. In a sense it conveys the bitterness and despair that most of the Columbia Right feels. As a former Conservative Union chairman and former YR Club president I've been in the thick of things around here for a long time, but I suppose one can only take so much. Next year I'll be going to law school down in Georgia. Maybe I can carry the fight on down there with the knowledge of the vision of hell which I've gained at Columbia.

Conservatively yours,
David B. Carpenter

To the Administration of Columbia University.
Gentlemen:

Four years and over $8,000 ago I came to Columbia College expecting to be able to get a good liberal arts education and in general spend my college years in the peaceful pursuit of this goal. Well, we all have our dreams! In four years at Columbia I have witnessed the destruction of a once-honorable institution. I have seen a once-great university become a third-rate political tool for a mob of Vietcong flag-waving animals, who trample the rights of anyone who dares to disagree with them. This mob rules while the spineless "leaders" of the university community cringe under their desks (when they can get into the buildings), and talk about whether they are relevant or not. I have seen a once-honored Columbia degree become a worthless scrap of paper while the only real leader Columbia ever had, Dr. Truman, gets the axe because he might offend the sensitivities of the mob. I have seen many of the university's best faculty members pack their bags and leave in frustration or fear or maybe simply because they don't relish the thought of having their files burned. I have seen the last three spring semesters disrupted with the disrupters getting only a slap on the wrist by the administrators who so want to understand them. Gentlemen, I've seen all this and I have done my best to fight it. In 1968 I stood with the Majority Coalition when the administration refused to act. I went to court against the trustees when we thought that might stir them to head off future disruptions. Last spring I acted with others to attempt to open up the buildings when it appeared that the administration was vacillating. Just a few weeks ago I stood with others in front of Hamilton Hall while the mob threw bricks at it to prevent them from smashing their way in. During the last three years I have had my life repeatedly threatened because I chose to stand against the mob and now I'm finished.

Gentlemen, I've had enough; I'm throwing in the towel. I have fought for Columbia for the last four years and now I believe that there is nothing left worth fighting for. Let your little friends wave their Vietcong flags, I'm sure my friends who went to Vietnam and never returned would appreciate their youthful idealism. Sit around and debate the war in your cozy senate meetings while Columbia slides into the cesspool, I no longer care. I am leaving Columbia this week to return to my native land, the United States of America, and I only hope its people will take me back.

I will not attend Commencement, that would delay my departure too long and I can't get out of here soon enough. You may mail my diploma to my home address and may I never see or hear of Columbia again. You have said that I should seek out my teachers and attempt to barter for a passing grade for my courses. This I refuse to do. I will not chase them all over the East Coast because they can't get into their classrooms or offices in this great university, which I am told by the president is still open. I have been told that I should try and finish my papers, but the last

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time I tried to get into the library I met a barrage of obscenities and was threatened with a club if I even attempted to try and get to the doors. The academic environment, or rather the lack of it, at Columbia at this time makes any attempt at scholastic endeavor ludicrous.

Gentlemen, I am angry and bitter not at the leftists who do what is predictable, but with you, gentlemen. You have failed me and every other student who came to Columbia not for a war or to turn the university into a political tool for his pet cause, but for an education. For those like me Columbia is no longer worth fighting for, not when those whose duty it is to protect her fail to meet any crisis with courage and leadership. Gentlemen, continue with your myth that Columbia is still open, even though you can't get into your offices and the students can't get into the library; I want no more of it.

Alma Mater? An aging prostitute probably has more honor left.

David B. Carpenter
Box 146
Barrington, Illinois, U.S.A.

A Graduate Student Recounts His Experience in a Course on 'Philosophy'

Dear Mr. Buckley, Jr.,

Hello again. I don't like to write depressing letters, but I have just been through an unpleasant experience which I think might interest you. The trimester has just ended here at Pitt, and I have finished a course ostensibly in Philosophy. The teacher I took to be a Marxist, although he has denied this in a recent letter to me (in answer to a term paper I sent him), saying that he "[had taken] a Marxist position to get people to think. . . ." Whether he is or whether he only defended Marx against distortions—especially radical distortions—isn't that important, however. What is, is that he is somewhere on the Left, and I don't mean in the vicinity of Mr. Humphrey.

After a few interesting weeks of lectures, he turned the class into an experiment, and this was the experience that depressed me—and him. The experiment took the form of a free-floating bull-session—no topic, no readings, no leadership; just come as you are if you feel like it and talk about anything that grabs you. I was immediately disappointed because I had expected a good skull-cracking course in philosophy, but I got something quite different. (In all fairness, I should say that this course was an experiment, an aberration; that Pitt's Philosophy Department is on the whole first-rate; and that I consider myself privileged to be able to study there.) However, I am a reasonably adaptable fellow, so I decided to go along with it. I also thought that it would be a good opportunity to *be* with some leftists and observe how they thought.

I was about the only conservative in the class, and I didn't do as well as I would have liked, partly because my mastery of conservative and capitalist principles is rather less than profound. *NR* and the *Freeman* help, but not enough. I have little time for extra reading, and there are of course no courses on (e.g.) "The Historical Development of Conservatism." But my fitful performance had other reasons. The prof thought that I had been intimidated, but not so. I jumped in and did my best only when something was said which, besides being provocative and something upon which I felt that I had some competence, was reasonably meaningful, intelligent or unambiguous. This rarely happened. These children have a curious and despairing inability to utter truth-functional sentences. (A general rule of thumb is: Any English statement containing such a concept as "alienation," "oppression," "the system," etc. is meaningless.) It was disappointing—and frightening.

Worse yet, even when I did join battle, I was verbally molested, misinterpreted and distorted. Items: 1) The teacher expressed his disappointment in the class' lack of ability to get moving. I ventured the views that the issues we were discussing were complex and philosophical, that most of the class did not have the proper philosophical and general intellectual background, and that a certain minimum level of competence is necessary to make sense of these issues. (Apparently he and I were the only ones there with much background in philosophy.) Reasonable enough? Not for teach, who went off into a diatribe about how the "system" oppresses people, telling them at every step of their academic progress that they must not think here but wait for the next level. Since we are, after all, all "species-beings," this failure must be environmental. We should be able to simply gather at random a group of bodies, shoehorn them into a classroom, form a nice big chummy group and, after an hour or so of pure ratiocination, everyone will see the Truth. Aside from caricature, this is of course unadulterated nonsense. My own experience refutes it. But how do you argue with people who live in a world of fantasy?

2) Teach expressed the opinion that there are no conservatives, not really—only fascists. (His political ontology is apparently limited to Communists, liberals and fascists.) I was so amazed that I nearly fell out of my chair. I waited for an argument to back this up—I didn't know at the time that I was a guinea pig—but the period ended, and I forgot it. Again, how do you argue with such people?

3) The remedy for pollution, according to one of the Hairy Ones, is to "find out who the plant manager is, go in there, and beat the shit out of him." This is bad enough, of course, but more: he (a student) was contemplating the

". . . and if my burdens as University President seem a bit overwhelming at times, I just whistle a little tune and remind myself I won't last long."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prospect with considerable glee—as was most of the class. (Was he acting? Were they all?)

4) That the "system" is oppressive is proved by the fact that the chairs are arranged in rows, all facing the same way. So we turned them around to form a rough circle and thereby smashed the system.

5) Teach once made a particularly bad argument. I blurted out, à la Rudd at Columbia, "Oh, bullshit!" That was the only time in the term that I saw Teach smile.

6) I read a quote—"The free society, as best I can define it, is that state of affairs where there are no man-concocted restraints against the release of creative human energy"—and asked if anyone could identify its source, even approximately. The only response I could get was when one of the Really Hairy Ones guessed at Curtis Lemay, but no one seemed to find it too funny. It is, of course, from Leonard Read of FEE [the Foundation for Economic Education]. I thought it interesting because Communists and leftists place such an emphasis on free creativity—apparently in the belief that only their way of doing things would make it possible. Teach asked me if this guy was serious, and I mumbled something about having read the *Freeman* for some time now, and yes, they were serious. (I do not, of course, doubt for a minute that these people are anything but dead serious.)

I could go on, but you get the drift. I am not so much angry as depressed. What is wrong with a society that produces—in apparently not insignificant numbers—young people so deficient in rationality and moral sensibility? Again, this bothered the prof too, but he blamed it on oppression. I say that this is a meaningless and emotive word, but the problem is nevertheless a real one. I believe that it is, as conservatives have been saying for years, that our institutions (the family, the churches, the schools—especially the high schools—in my opinion) have failed to instill the proper values. The cause is liberalism, with its paralyzing relativism and valueless academicism. I believe that this amorphous morality of liberalism has invaded our culture especially through the media, as far as the children are concerned. (This is not to ignore the other manifestations—utopian political rhetoric, welfarism, bureaucracy, coexistence with violence in general and Communism in particular etc.) These kids aren't of the "baby-boom" generation, but of the "telly" generation. They have been formed—no, warped—by the inanities, biases and unrealities of the media. But these faults could be taken seriously only in a valueless culture—a liberal culture. By destroying the institutions which normally embody our values and traditions, the liberals have created a value-vacuum. Then a Gresham's Law of value took over.

So I am depressed. I am not religious, so I cannot turn to religion for consolation. I'll play some Bach tomorrow, and that will help me for a while, but as with any "high" one must eventually come back to the real world with its problems. I am beginning to feel how Whittaker Chambers might have felt. The only moral consolation I get is NATIONAL REVIEW. You are the only ones who know who the enemy really is, and that is one of the primary reasons why I am attracted to conservatism.

Sincerely,
Jack E. Simmons
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Father of a Prep-School Student Reveals How the Teen-agers are Punished These Days

Memo
TO: Priscilla, James and William F. [Buckley]

Last week Perky (Priscilla Heath, that is, your niece) was "campused" for the weekend [at Stoneleigh-Burnham School, Greenfield, Mass.] along with a few friends for some minor infractions of school rules. As part of their *punishment*, they were required to write letters to their parents asking them to send the following letter to their senators, congressmen, friends etc.:

"President Nixon's excursion into Cambodia indicates a shocking contempt for public opinion, for his own claim of disengagement from Vietnam, for constitutional government and for the principle of civilian control over the military.

"Despite assurances to the contrary, the President has not exhausted all available means to a settlement of the war and he appears to have abandoned his verbal commitment to a steady process of de-escalation. [And three more paragraphs of the same]"

It occured to me that one or all of you could make some use of this type of thing. Jim, especially, should be in a position to use it in his campangn.

Ben (Heath, that is)

A Professor Examines Protest As the New Road to Academic Profits

Dear Mr. Buckley,

As a faculty member at the University of Kansas, I wish to pass on some information to you. In response to the action in Cambodia, the University of Kansas adopted a plan previously put into effect at Princeton and the University of Rhode Island, among other places. The plan was approved by the students last Friday in a frightening display of plebiscitary democracy at the stadium.

According to this plan, the student can elect either:

1) To continue going to classes and to take the final examination. [Only one week of class was remaining when the plan was adopted.]

2) Exercise his right for an alternative according to one of the following options:

a. Credit/No Credit on the basis of work accomplished through May 10 [the Monday after the stadium meeting];

b. Letter grade on the basis of work accomplished through May 10;

c. Letter grade based on work accomplished to date and performance on final exam at regularly scheduled time without class attendance during the week of May 11-16;

d. Credit/No Credit based on work accomplished to date and performance on final exam at regularly scheduled time without class attendance during the week of May 11-16. [*Note*: At the U. of Kansas the student has to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have the equivalent of C to get a grade of Credit.]
e. Acceptance of an Incomplete, the course to be completed at a later date mutually agreeable to the student and the instructor within the time limit prescribed by University regulations.

On the face of it, this plan sounds like the very essence of sweet reason. After all, who would object to everyone making his own moral decision according to the dictates of his conscience? In fact, however, the cards are stacked very heavily against anyone wishing to select Option One, and the momentum is overwhelmingly on the side of selecting Option Two. Here are, in disordered and unsystematic form, some of my observations:

1) Selection of Option One in one course does not obligate the student to select that option in all courses. He can selectively protest according to the dictates of his own self-interest. The University administration is creating a situation in which the student, without really thinking about it, morally compromises himself.

2) Taking the examination and attending classes for the last week are obviously more work than not doing so. Sloth and moral protest thus go admirably hand in hand at a time of year when everyone is tired and ready for summer vacation.

3) In most cases, it is riskier to take the final examination than not to do so, since most grades fall rather than rise. This is especially true in the case of multisection, departmental examinations. An undergraduate of my acquaintance said of one of his courses: "I have a B; if I take the final I would be risking it, so I'll settle for a grade on the basis of work done so far." There is hardly a student at the University who, in at least one course, is not engaging in some game of blackjack with his grades—and in the name of pacifist protest!

4) Inevitably, those in favor of the protest will claim that the overwhelming majority of the students opted for Option Two, and that this is an expression of their strong sentiment against our involvement in Cambodia and Indochina, when in fact the student is merely trying to salvage something for himself in a chaotic situation that he was manipulated into approving.

5) Situation: A student is taking four courses; he has little chance of bettering his grade in three. He jettisons three courses by taking grades on the basis of work accomplished so far, thereby freeing himself to devote all his energies to bettering his grade in the course he *does* elect to take the final on. I know someone who is doing precisely this.

6) The governor had insisted that the University be kept open. The chancellor has bragged that the University *has* been kept open and that violence has been averted. For all practical purposes, however, the University is closed. When 30, 40 or 75 per cent of the students in a course elect to terminate their work before final examinations, instruction is chaotic, students and teachers wishing to go on are demoralized, complicated examinations must be devised for a handful of students—the temptation is to negotiate a grade with those remaining—and curves become meaningless.

7) The peer group pressure is on the side of the protestors. In Kansas, too, a higher percentage of faculty than students will be on the Left. When the instructor is demonstrably on the Left, the whole class tends to elect the protest option. To insist that such an instructor give an examination would be risky indeed on the part of the student.

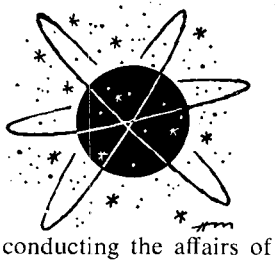
I am an old liberal, and I think of myself as a moderate, but in today's academy I have been polarized to the Right. What the colleges and universities of this country need is an active working coalition of the Right and moderate Right to bring counter pressure to bear against the radical Left. I mean a broad coalition of all those wishing to counter the leftist radicalization of the university and the drive to politicize it. Nowadays, this would include a large number of people like myself who are not, strictly speaking, conservative on all issues. I wouldn't be caught dead with a flag decal, but I am militantly against the sovietizing of the academy. The most eloquent and articulate spokesmen must be sought out (by no means easy in conservative circles), leftist revolutionary rhetoric contradicted, moderate-conservative student politicians elected, and perhaps even violent demonstrators identified. In the giant stadium meeting we had here at Kansas, there were no pro-war speakers and no coherent conservative nay vote.

Sincerely yours,
[Name withheld by request]

A Trustee Writes to the President of His College Giving the Reasons for his Resignation

Dr. James M. Hester
President, New York University
Dear Jim:

This is a very difficult letter for me to write because I have long admired your dedication to New York University. But I now find myself in profound disagreement with so many of the recent policies and statements of your administration that I feel obligated to state my position to you and the other members of the Board of Trustees. I realize that my objections to NYU policies would apply equally to many universities in the United States. The situation at NYU is not unique. In the face of actions and attitudes on the part of faculty and students which seem at times hysterical, and often anti-intellectual, members of the governing Boards of Trustees have, in my opinion, remained too silent. Theirs is the ultimate responsibility for conducting the affairs of the University. In too many cases they have not met that responsibility.



To illustrate one basic disagreement, I direct your attention to the ruling by the University Senate that the Reserve Officers Training Corps be banished from the campus of New York University. Many students and faculty wish to continue the ROTC as a voluntary organization, and are willing to give up academic credits for such a course. In refusing to permit even a no-credit, voluntary arrangement, NYU let it be known that it does not wish to be closely associated with the defense of the United States. This is to me a serious matter.

There is a frightening parallel between such action by American colleges and the now famous (or rather infamous) Oxford Oath prior to World War II, when the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

students of Oxford University asserted that they would "refuse to fight for king and country." Adolf Hitler knew how to interpret such weakness. He set his war machine in motion because he believed that Britain would never fight. We can only devoutly hope that the totalitarian dictators in Europe and Asia today will not follow a similar course of action.

Another matter which I find extremely disturbing is your recent statement on Vietnam and Cambodia. You acted for New York University and invited some 37 college presidents to sign a document in behalf of their own institutions. This letter to President Nixon criticized U.S. policies in Vietnam and Cambodia and strongly urged speedy withdrawal. By no stretch of the imagination could the signatories of this letter be considered as individuals apart from their institutions. The weight of the document could be ascribed only to the fact that everyone signing it represented the university which he heads. In fact, the *New York Times*, in its report, said "the signers represented many of the nation's largest academic institutions. . ." Thus New York University, among others, is on record as taking an official position on a military and political matter of national importance.

Now I do not believe that a university—any university—has a right to become embroiled in public issues of political, military or economic importance. The university is not a monolithic institution with a single point of view. It is a community of scholars dedicated to research and teaching. It encompasses many, many points of view. I assure you that many members of your Board and thousands of your faculty and students do not agree with your point of view. When you speak for the university you speak for everyone in it. I submit that you cannot speak for those who disagree with your point of view. As individuals, of course, members of the administration, faculty and student body have the right to express themselves on any matter. But not the University—for no one can commit the institution itself to a public policy that does not relate *clearly* and *directly* to the curriculum or to educational facilities at the university.

Consider for a moment the grave danger involved when New York University takes a public position on a highly controversial matter. It arouses resentment among large segments of the public, of officials in Washington and in state offices. You may, of course, believe that on a particular matter public opinion will support you, but such a judgment is irrelevant. Once the university begins to take a public position on military, economic or social problems it can no longer claim immunity from violent reactions on the part of those who disagree with its policies. Thus the very foundations of the university are undermined.

As an activist political organization the university may not be entitled to tax exemption. Above all, by taking an activist role in public affairs the university leads the American people to believe that its role is not scholarship, the transmission of learning and the search for truth, but rather activism for special causes.

In view of my fundamental disagreement with policies now being pursued, I am compelled to herewith submit my resignation as a member of the Board of Trustees, a position I have held for eighteen years. I assure you I do so with deep regret, and in the hope that New York University may yet continue to build on its reputation of the past as a leading institution of higher learning devoted to free discussion and the pursuit of truth.

Sincerely,
Lawrence Fertig
New York, N.Y.

A Learned Professor at a Large University Wishes He Might Find Another Way to Make a Living

Dear Bill:

As of now, midnight, fifty faculty members from UCB are said to be in the clink, rounded up in a cop sweep while making a moral stand. Some of them belong there. I could write you a wild and juicy story if I could think of any way of not making it libelous.

Pushers a big problem there; the trouble with police brutality is that it always hits the wrong people. The [city] cops are proving to be gorillas. Two broke into a coed's apartment for no discernible reason and searched it (found nothing); they broke the dishes on her table with truncheons. When she protested they said she was lucky she wasn't being shot. There are indeed outside agitators in addition to the local hard core, and the mess will go on perhaps another week (at final exam time, yet); the cops are meanwhile getting the wrong people. Instance: the 233rd or so Bomb Scare in the library, two nights ago, caused its (again, yawn) evacuation; this has been going on almost daily for months. And a lad surrounded with books, three days from a final, said look, he was prepared to assume the risk that there was no bomb, now would they kindly leave him alone because he had had his studies interrupted too often. So they arrested him. Charge: resisting a fireman. (There was of course no bomb and on no occasion has there ever been.)

I repeat that if I knew another way to make a living I would take it. This is pointless and exhausting.

Re, RR, I believe the [local newspaper] withheld your last column, which if so was just as well, the bullet that killed the bus-driver having most probably come from a police gun. A rifle with telescopic sights, forsooth, and what was that *doing* in a crowd-control-at-night situation, and moreover the officer claims to have discharged it accidentally. *"The moral is that little boys/Should not be given dangerous toys"* (H. Belloc). Identification of the bullet will apparently be next to impossible because it was deformed by the ricochet it underwent on its way to Blakely's thorax. The last thing that was needed; ditto the Kent State massacre. And the question now is, seriously, whether UCB will in fact reopen Monday. Likelihood is official state of openness with "confrontations" galore. I was to have gone to a conference on translation at Ohio but received a call today to say that it was postponed till fall, "if we are open in the fall."

All utterly pointless and discouraging, and I should get out if there were anywhere to go. Neither revolutionizing nor coping with revolutionaries is my vocation. What has now been tacitly conceded, here and elsewhere, is the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power, not to say the right, of a determined mob to close down anything they choose to designate as symbolic, as what mayn't they. A Miss Indiana contest was closed by the Women's Liberation folk, 150 strong, last week, their weapon obscenities and "How can you do this while men are dying in Vietnam?" The incident is trivial, but it seems to have tipped the scales in these parts; anything may be judged irrelevant at any moment. Of course the hard core has judged the whole normal work of universities irrelevant to topic #One, The War and How To End It. That is not news. What is news is that the capacity of any mob to stop anything is now a) apparent to potential mobs, and b) conceded by the sponsors of activities. This can no longer be met by enforcing laws. (Imagine a beauty contest being protected by armed force!) One comes to realize how completely all normal social activities, and especially university activities, depend on tacit webs of consent.

For instance there is really nothing that can be done to prevent revolutionary profs giving 1,500 A grades to students enrolled in classes which were seldom met by the prof, and when met dealt with revolution, not with the catalogued subject. This was a scandal here recently, and a determined committee met to seek ways of curbing it. The machinery they came up with could be stalled half a year by any practised tactician, and no one could devise summary machinery that would not be equally dangerous because susceptible to being set jangling by mischievous rumor. (All the revolutionaries would then have to do is start laying false charges against colleagues.) In short, if your staff are not men of good will you cannot force them to behave as if they were, and good will being in shorter supply than it should be, those tacit webs of consent have been going the way of cobwebs. I even received an outrageous memo from a Dean requesting me to devote my classes last Wednesday to "discussion of American presence in Asia." I tore it up. (The last time I received such a thing, about a year ago, I tore it up in front of the class, but last Wednesday's class did not require such a gesture.) The only active relation I can form to the situation is to pointedly ignore it, a safe procedure just now because my classes consist of small groups of advanced students who want to hear what I have to tell them; but it would by now incite to violence if I had a class with a proportion of captive listeners, the more usual situation. Disruption is the captive student's secret dream (can't you remember feeling that way in classrooms?) and as the student body enlarges, as "requirements" grow more impersonal, as more and more people find themselves taking courses they didn't elect but were euchred into by overcrowding of the courses they did elect, the proportion of captive students rises. Hence much of the mischief. The committed student of Physics 220 is apt to be a captive student in English 170, and his boredom there is as tinder to the "shut it down" merchants. Damn "requirements" anyway.

In support of which, I adduce:

We have on this campus an "Institute of Special Studies" invented and masterminded by an old colleague of mine. Its gimmick is simply to select extra-bright freshmen, the sort who win nationwide essay contests at sixteen, or work their way through calculus textbooks on the side while enrolled in high school algebra, and give them individually tailor-made programs, free of "requirements." They can take graduate courses while freshmen if they want to. One boy, a junior, took a graduate course of mine last year and wrote a publishable paper which is a genuine contribution to knowledge. Now. These young folk tend to blue jeans and long hair. They tend to freewheel. I could designate four or five the sight of whom would bring down every portcullis in Bloomington, or bring our governor leaping from the executive chair, forefinger quivering. And throughout all disturbances the ISS students go about their business, which they find more interesting than revolutionizing can hope to be. They attend their classes. They bring to bear no pressure for "discussion of the issues." They are the genuine students around here. Any police chief would arrest them on sight. Relentless middle-classness, in short, is not the sole panacea.

Ever,
Jasper Cleaver
Bloomington, Indiana

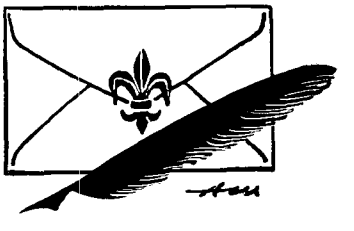
A Professor of Philosophy Writes to a Student Why He Finds the War in Vietnam Related to the Survival of Academic Freedom

This letter is my reply to a student who suggested that I defend academic freedom by opposing various policies of the United States Government. H.N.

May 22, 1970

Dear . . . . . ,

We are obviously in accord about our goal, the preservation of academic freedom. However, we disagree about the proper means to our common end. As I see it, commitment to institutional neutrality for schools in political questions means commitment to the United States Government, which permits this neutrality, against Russia or China, which do not. Academic freedom does not occur in a vacuum. Rather it occurs in political regimes permitting it. And such regimes are few and far between especially among the most powerful nations. The normal—one is tempted to say, the natural—regime in history's most powerful states is not fifth-century Athens or twentieth-century America with their incredible tolerance for dissent.



No, the normal way of dealing with academic or philosophic dissent is the brutal methods employed by ancient Sparta or by the Russian tanks in Prague two years ago. The fact that Athens permitted Socrates to live for seventy years reveals as remarkable a tolerance as the contemporary American government's indulgence of its militant critics. Probably your faith in academic freedom's capacity to facilitate solutions to our main socio-political problems makes you believe that political regimes have an obligation to indulge these luxuries (i.e., academic freedom and neutrality). However, so far as I have been able to discern, there is no self-evident natural or divine right to academic freedom or any other freedom. Scientific progress in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia was not impeded by refusal to indulge these luxuries. Nor would Nazis or Communists admit lack of political-social progress in their regime.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I do not see that closing or refusing to finance colleges and universities would necessarily impede solutions to our country's socio-political problems. Yet, as I told a student militant recently, I strongly oppose closing of schools until the most important questions always confronting thoughtful men have been answered. For these questions, I have found no adequate answers. I believe that schools exist primarily for people seeking adequate answers to them. Obviously there are satisfactory solutions, and therefore experts, to secondary problems, but not to the crucial or most "relevant" questions. For example, experts on nutrition and nuclear weapons exist, but who is an expert on whether it is better for all or some men to live or die? "To be or not to be"—that is still the question. Until it is adequately answered, how can one know whether peace and love are better than violence and atomic destruction?

So long as I have not answered such crucial questions—and I suspect that two lifetimes is insufficient for this purpose—I support governments most tolerant of the free, open quest for answers to them. I use the words "most tolerant" intentionally, for man's history precludes expecting more than mere tolerance from any government past, present, or future. No regime is in love with academic freedom nor can it reasonably be expected to be. For governments require solutions to their pressing problems, while those genuinely concerned with academic freedom deal with problems which, so far as I can tell, have never been adequately solved. To be sure, I'd love to solve them, but their immense complexity and problematic depths make satisfac- unlikelihood or impossibility separates us lovers of academic freedom from you whose hearts are in the political arena. To my mind, the most "relevant" distinction between men exists between these two classes of people.

I am against academic discrimination on the basis of such things as race, religion or sex, but I most emphatically discriminate against two kinds of would-be teachers: first, those who would commit schools to the promulgation of any political, religious, or racial orthodoxy.

Teachers cannot be ideologists without destroying the very soul of schools. Teachers who, in this way, corrupt schools from within are infinitely more dangerous than the usual, external foes of academic freedom. From the time of Socrates, the external opposition of a morally indignant citizenry has threatened academic freedom. However, the current threat from so-called teachers who transform schools into propaganda institutes for their ideologies corrodes schools from within.

This bring me to the second kind of teacher whom I should like to leave our schools. I mean those not committed to the United States in its global cold or hot conflict with Russia and China. These teachers do not realize that their academic freedom depends for support upon the power of the United States. If the United States became Communist, they would suffer the fate of their colleagues in the universities of Prague, Moscow and Peking.

As I told the Scripps College faculty recently, I refuse to endorse petitions against American foreign or domestic policy, unless those petitions demonstrate that the policy in question is not helpful in America's struggle against Communist expansion. Of course, I am prepared to sign almost any petition against Soviet policies, although such petitions are rare indeed on American campuses.

To repeat it again, I am for the United States against Russia because the United States is much more tolerant of academic freedom than Russia. This tolerance seems to me politically unnecessary—and perhaps harmful—to the solution of any country's socio-political problems. Consequently, I feel boundless gratitude to regimes permitting this luxury, since it is a necessity for my way of life.

You students are not the guilty ones. The faculties are responsible for the current self-destruction of academic freedom in our schools. Student rebels realize that the strongest elements in faculties throughout the country support their right to use school time to engage in socio-political crusades. If they knew that a majority of faculties strongly opposed their crusades, only a few hard-core radicals such as the Weathermen would engage in them. Thus the responsibility for the current chaos on our campuses lies solely with faculties. The refusal of most faculties to condemn "renaissance" or similar plans means that faculties no longer are willing or able to discipline themselves from within.

Faculty encouraging students to embark on socio-political crusades represent a clear and present danger to academic freedom. Just as men falsely shouting "fire!" in crowded theaters abuse their freedom to speak, so these teachers place the future of academic freedom in jeopardy. They should be dismissed from the schools. Refusal of faculty to dismiss them invites corruption of schools from within and repressive measures from without.

In the light of these reflections, I am giving a grade of "unsatisfactory" to any student in my classes who neglects exams or papers to engage in protests against the official policies of our government. I should have preferred to see such students, along with the teachers encouraging them, dismissed from the schools by the faculties. But, as I noted, most faculties are unwilling or unable to discipline teachers responsible for the current destruction of academic freedom.

The future looks grim for those of us for whom the academic freedom tolerated by the United States is a necessity. Yet I am somewhat encouraged by Vice President Agnew's affirmation of the true meaning of academic freedom against academic propagandists who would pervert it. Here is the end of his recent Lincoln Day address: "All that we in the political community hope to achieve must find its justification in the flowering of the human intellect as it confronts the mysteries of existence—of the universe—in those activities that transcend the political life. And our best political leaders, like Abraham Lincoln, are those who, amidst turbulent change, not only preserve us from destruction but remind us of the need we have for a saving wisdom of the permanent things."

I hope this letter persuades you to abandon politics and return to our investigation of life's main questions.

As always,
Harry Neumann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JAMES BURNHAM

PAX ATOMICA

THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT

Year after year, following those August implosions in 1945, we have been told that this time the doom of mankind really *is* at hand, unless we repent. Unless we junked them or shared them or defused them or banned them or forgot them, nuclear weapons were going to wipe us all out, and sooner rather than later. All the wise men warned us: white-haired scientists and whiz kids, preachers and statesmen, philosophers and poets. A thousand science fiction novels, ten thousand articles and sermons painted the grisly picture of post-atomized earth. Despite all that mass of prophecy and foreboding, it hasn't happened here.

Not that mankind has been at peace. There has not been a moment of global peace since 1945. As always throughout history, fighting has always been going on somewhere: in China, Greece, Malaysia, the Philippines, the Congo, Algeria, Sinai, Iraq, Hungary, Sudan, Angola, Indochina, Nigeria, Cuba, Indonesia, India, Chad. . . . Still, although quite a lot of human beings have been killed, the fighting has not escalated into a major or general war. It has been limited in geographical extent, in the resources devoted to it, and in the kind of weapons used.

After wars ceased being the sport of kings, a distinction came to be made between the "occasion" and the "underlying causes" of wars. Both have been a number of times present since 1945, at least in the degree that produced World Wars I and II and other major wars of the past couple of centuries. The Berlin Blockade, the Lebanese crisis, the Anglo-French-Israeli Suez-Sinai invasion, the Cuban missile affair, the Hungarian revolt, the current Indochinese conflict have all been more substantial "occasions" for the start of a big war than the shooting of an archduke, the flap over a Baltic city or the falsification of a telegram. As for "underlying causes," there have seldom been any more ample than the economic, social, political, ideological and spiritual disharmonies between the Soviet Union and the nations of the West. But there's been no war. Why not?

Bombs for Peace

The answer is nuclear weapons. There has been no big war because of the existence of nuclear weapons. These supposed scions of hell that were expected to bring the destruction of human society have turned out to be the guardian angels of Peace. Those who possess the nuclear weapons have deliberately prevented the day-by-day fighting from swelling into a really big war that would risk the unlimbering of the really big—i.e., the nuclear—weapons. The possessors and controllers of these weapons are, after all, the people most directly acquainted with what the weapons can do. Out of fear or guilt derived from that acquaintance, they don't want to use them.

Has one or the other of the nuclear powers restrained itself "too much"—that is, more than required to forestall big and thus probably or presumptively nuclear war? I have thought so, particularly of our own country, and I have believed that excessive restraint has tended on net to American disadvantage, but no one can be sure about these might-have-beens.

How long will the Pax Atomica last? The distant future is impenetrable, but we can guess at least some years, even some decades, more. Besides the two superpowers, at least three other nations have nuclear weapons now (Britain, a significant batch); at least seven or eight have the capability of producing them fairly quickly. With the improvement of nuclear techniques and the lowering of costs, the *capability* of production will be widespread on every continent.

Actual use of a nuclear weapon would be made more probably by the ruler of a small nation, spurred by desperation or megalomania, than by the government of a large nation, in which individual rulers are almost always subject to collegial checks. But use by a small nation need not and probably would not set off a big war. If one of the largest nations achieved what its rulers would judge to be close to absolute superiority in nuclear arms, they might use them or win whatever they wanted by the credible threat of using them. But this is not likely, and a relative superiority (if that means anything at all at this stage of nuclear development) is not enough. The Middle East is about to provide a critical test of the Pax Atomica. If the Pax still holds, the two superpowers, in parallel if not converged acts, will prevent the present Mideast war from generalizing much further.

Unimportance of Being Nuclear

The absence of "big war" is in no wise equivalent to the absence of the international power struggle. This is always with us, but in the present period the shifts in the global equilibrium—some of them major transformations—are being brought about by processes short of big-scale war. The nuclear weapons set the parameters for the global struggle; the active variables include conventional fighting but feature the newer weapons systems of revolutionary liberation struggle and counter-struggle, subversion and psycho-political operations.

For the great nations, nuclear armament is a "necessary condition" of survival, but the "sufficient conditions" include effective use of the old-fashioned methods and most particularly the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary systems. In spite of alarums and excursions, our nuclear framework has always been adequate. But the Indochinese struggle and, more and more clearly, the struggle in the Mideast—are demonstrating how inadequate we still are in handling the active variables. We are not losing the Indochinese struggle from any nuclear weakness. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM LONDON

Harold Wilson: Poll-axed

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

If it hadn't been for the public opinion polls, nobody would have been in the least surprised by the result of the British election; on the contrary, after all the disasters of the past six years, a massive swing to the Conservatives would have been expected. Indeed, as recently as last summer, the polls showed a Conservative lead of no less than 27 per cent. But then, during the past three months, they swung right back until the Labor Party had an apparent lead of 12 per cent.

And everybody believed them—including Harold Wilson, who was lured to his doom. London is now filled with a mighty sound of chomping and grinding as all the commentators, politicians, pundits and pollsters eat their words. So sure were they of a Labor victory, so confidently had they written Ted Heath off as a born loser, that throughout the campaign they never bothered to discuss which party was going to win. The talk, even on the afternoon of Election Day, was all about who would succeed Heath as leader of the defeated Conservatives.

Interest centered on what the polls said rather than on what the politicians were saying. There was much debate about why there should be so sudden a swing to Labor at a time when nothing particular seemed to have happened to cause it. Now, of course, the polls are even more of a talking-point. Was the swing to Labor reversed late in the campaign, or did it never really exist outside the pollsters' charts? We shall never know.

Passionate Harold and . . .

The campaign itself was not edifying. The party leaders began by saying that they wanted it to be about policies not personalities—and proceeded to abuse one another unceasingly. Two of the most important issues facing Britain, not just at this election but since the War, were deliberately excluded—the Common Market, because all the party leaders were committed to taking Britain into Europe if they could, although a majority of the electorate is certainly opposed to the whole idea, and the problem of immigration and the growth of the colored population already in Britain, about which, rightly or wrongly, a great many ordinary people are deeply worried.

On both these questions Enoch Powell speaks, and speaks brilliantly, for those who feel their opinions are being ignored by old party leaders. He was vilified as a result—and he doubled his majority.

But what emerged as the central issue of the campaign was a direct clash about the state of Britain's economy, with the Labor Party claiming that everything in the garden was now lovely and the Conservatives saying that it was all a confidence trick, that the Labor Government had allowed an inflationary boom to develop, which would soon be followed by a new economic crisis, and, eventually, by another devaluation. The electors were baffled. Someone commented acidly that it was just like two firms of auditors squabbling over last year's accounts.

So in the end the election did come down, very largely, to a matter of personalities. And Conservatives shuddered as they read about Mr. Heath's clumsy campaigning—how he refused a pint of beer held out to him, quite spontaneously, by a construction worker, and how, when he stopped at a roadside café, he declined to walk across and congratulate a wedding party at another table. All he did was go around making rather boring speeches about the economy.

Harold Wilson, meanwhile, was coasting through his campaign with superb mastery, puffing his pipe, throwing off little quips and never touching on any political issue substantial enough to give his opponents so much as a fingerhold. How could he lose?

But he lost. It was Mr. Wilson who misjudged the attitude of the electorate and Mr. Heath who got it right.

Soaring prices, falling production, the highest seasonal unemployment for thirty years, the balance of trade figures starting to slip, penal taxation, wildcat strikes—the storm signals were plain to see and people saw them. So they turned to the duller but more honest man.

There was an important difference too in intensity of feeling. Through apathy or disgruntlement, a lot of traditional Labor supporters didn't bother to vote; but Conservatives voted against Mr. Wilson with a determination and detestation very unusual in British political history. It may now be an advantage for Mr. Heath that he is not the sort of man to arouse passionate feelings.

. . . Stoical Ted

All governments disappoint their keenest supporters, and Mr. Heath's will be no exception. He won't be able to reduce taxes as much as some of us think he should; but at least he'll try. He won't be able effectively to curb the irresponsible power of the labor unions; but he will make some moves in that direction. He won't be able to restore Britain's lost place in the world; but he, and Sir Alec Douglas-Home in the Foreign Office, will conduct the country's affairs with rather more dignity and will strengthen the dangerously run-down armed forces. Under a Conservative government, Britain will show more interest again in the defense problems of the Persian Gulf, Southeast Asia and Australia, and less interest in futile dipslays of moral indignation against South Africa and Rhodesia.

But the most important change of all—the one for which a great many people who are in no sense committed conservatives have been yearning—is a change of mood; an end to the era of gimmicks and carefully staged non-events, of medals for pop singers and the publicity-conscious cultivation of footballers and show-biz personalities; a lessening of the politics of envy; and a return to more old-fashioned standards of conduct in public life.

If this government proves no better than the last, then disillusionment with the whole system could become very dangerous. For the moment, though, there is a sense of lightness, of a long fog lifting, of new hope. "It feels," a colleague said to me the day after the election, "like being let out of prison." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COOPER-CHURCH AMENDMENT

Is It Constitutional?

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

OUR SORTIE into Cambodia has stimulated the more articulate elements of American society, and not necessarily those most learned in that recondite subject, international law, into numerous emphatic pronunciamentos. These elements, including many of the same people, have expressed confident opinions regarding the Church-Cooper Amendment (a bill which would limit the authority of the President to order or maintain our Armed Forces in Cambodia), not always recognizing the problems of constitutional law that such a statute would present. Here we shall discuss not the wisdom or the folly of that sortie, but the legal question involved in the public debate it has aroused.

International law. It is undisputed that for a considerable period of time North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops maintained bases in areas of Cambodia adjacent to the South Vietnamese frontier; from these bases the troops sallied forth into South Vietnam—during the Tet offensive, for example—to attack South Vietnamese and United States forces stationed there. Cambodia, although a neutral state, reluctantly tolerated these bases; the United States and South Vietnam also acquiesced, and the bases came to be known as "sanctuaries." The sanctuaries were regularly supplied, again with the acquiescence of the Cambodian, South Vietnamese and United States Governments, from the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville.

Unfortunately most questions of international law have never been adjudicated by any court, unless international law be defined, as it sometimes is, as municipal law relating to international matters, e.g., naturalization. Nevertheless international law exists; the United States Constitution, for instance, refers to "the law of nations." We must look to treaties and other international agreements, the decisions of international commissions, the views of writers who are generally recognized as entitled to respect, custom and, particularly insofar as the United States is concerned, our own practice.

According to the Hague Convention of 1907, a neutral may not allow belligerants to move troops or supplies across its territory, to maintain installations or to regroup forces there. A neutral is obligated, according to that convention, to take positive action to prevent such abuse of its neutrality; it must either expel the belligerent forces or intern them. This duty is nevertheless not absolute, but "according to its power." A 1939 Harvard paper on the subject said: "A neutral state is not an insurer of the fulfillment of its neutral duties. It is obligated merely to use the means at its disposal to secure the fulfillment of its duties."

Self-Defense?

What may the other belligerent do when the neutral fails, for lack of power or lack of will, to expel or intern the forces of the belligerent which has invaded its territory? The authorities are somewhat divided. It has been suggested that diplomatic representations and claims are the proper course. Nevertheless, all authorities recognize that the aggrieved belligerent may, in pursuit of "self-defense" or "self-preservation," take military action requiring entry into the territory of the neutral.

Perhaps the leading case is a decision of the Greco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal after World War I. During that war Franco-British forces occupied the port of Salonika in Greece —a neutral state. Greece was unable or unwilling to expel or intern them. The Germans responded with a bombardment, causing considerable damage, for which claim was made against Germany after the war. The Tribunal dismissed the claim, saying that, whether or not the Greek government had opposed or consented to it, "the occupation of Salonika was, as regards Germany, an illicit act which authorized her to take, even on Greek territory, any acts of war necessary for her defense."

In early 1940 the then-neutral government of Norway permitted the German auxiliary naval vessel *Altmark* to transport British prisoners through her territorial waters. The British navy then entered those waters and captured the *Altmark*. This seizure was upheld in a learned opinion by Professor Waldock who concluded that "where material prejudice to a belligerent's interest will result from its continuance, the principle of self-preservation would appear fully to justify intervention in neutral waters."

Thus "self-preservation" and "self-defense" are broadly construed in this context; the bombardment of Salonika and the capture of the *Altmark* were not necessary for the self-preservation or the self-defense of Germany and Great Britain, respectively, in any immediate sense.

According to Vattel, who was the leading writer on this subject in the eighteenth century (the century of the adoption of our Constitution with its reference to the "law of nations"):

> . . . [When a neutral state] allows [hostile forces] time to recover and to watch for an opportunity of making a fresh attack upon my territory . . . [this is] inconsistent with neutrality. . . . [The neutral state] should . . . not allow them to lie in wait to make a fresh attack upon me; otherwise he [i.e., the neutral state] warrants me into pursuing them into his territory. This is what happens when nations are not in a position to make their territory respected. It soon becomes the seat of the war; armies march, camp and fight in it, as in a country open to all comers.

Certainly the last sentence aptly describes the present fate of Cambodia.

The United States has on a number of earlier occasions entered the territory of foreign powers with which it was not at war in order to suppress armed forces mounting attacks upon it, which the foreign power was unable or unwilling to prevent. Thus United States forces entered Spanish Florida in 1817 to suppress a band of adventurers, and in 1818 to overcome a tribe of militant Indians; in 1916 our Army entered Mexico to conduct an expedition against General Francisco Villa who had engaged in raids upon our territory.

I have said that the government of Cambodia "reluctantly tolerated" the sanctuaries, referring to the govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. On March 18 the government of Prince Sihanouk was replaced by that of General Lon Nol, the so-called "Government of Salvation." Statements by the Government of Salvation suggested that it would be less tolerant than Prince Sihanouk had been. There followed a number of incidents seeming to evidence an intention on the part of North Vietnam to consolidate its sanctuaries into one broad strip running from the South Vietnamese border to Sihanoukville. Without, however, resting his decision on this evidence, on April 30 President Nixon announced his intention to attack the sanctuaries.

The initial response of Cambodia on May 1 was ambiguous, but on May 5 the Cambodian government issued the following statement:

> The Government of Salvation notes with satisfaction that the President of the United States took into consideration in his decision, the legitimate expressions of the Cambodian people who only desire to live in peace within their territory, independent and in strict neutrality. For this reason, the government of Cambodia wishes to announce that it appreciates the views of President Nixon in his message of April 30 and expresses to him its gratitude.

This statement would seemingly eliminate any problem of international law and, indeed, recent critics of the President have condemned the Cambodian adventure more as an "enlargement of the war" than as a violation of neutral rights.

Constitutional law. Assuming that the United States lawfully entered Cambodia as a matter of international law, it does not follow that, as a matter of the municipal law of the United States, the decision to do so was lawfully reached or that the President may lawfully instruct our troops to stay there or to enter again on a subsequent occasion against the will of Congress. These questions will therefore now be considered.

Theoretically the President, as the constitutional "commander in chief of the Army and Navy," might order hostile action 1) in accordance with the will of Congress, 2) in the absence of expression of the will of Congress or 3) against the expressed will of Congress.

So long as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution stays on the books, it is hardly open to question that the President acted lawfully in ordering the sortie into Cambodia, for the President is acting in accordance with the will of Congress.

By the Gulf of Tonkin resolution the President is authorized to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression" pursuant to the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty; also "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist" nations entitled to help.

A formal declaration of war has never been regarded as necessary. The Fifth Congress in 1799 instructed President Adams to "seize and take any armed French vessel which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or elsewhere, on the high seas. . . ." The Supreme Court upheld naval action taken in accordance with this statute, albeit referring to the war with France as an "imperfect" war, war not having been declared. A declared war is a "solemn" one, according to the Court.

Shortly thereafter in a case involving the armed seizure of a ship engaged in commerce forbidden by Congress, the Supreme Court upheld the action of the President. As it was the duty of the President to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" and as he was commander in chief of the Army and Navy, the President could lawfully use the Navy to execute the laws.

The conduct of hostilities, including deployment of forces, in military operations is at the discretion of the President. The draft of the section of the Constitution authorizing Congress to declare war originally read to "make war" when it was submitted to the Convention of 1787. The word "declare" was substituted intentionally to limit the power of Congress. The "making" of the Revolutionary War by the Continental Congress had been so unsatisfactory that the Convention was happy to leave that problem to the President.

In a suit relating to the conduct of the Civil War, Chief Justice Chase remarked that the power of Congress to raise and support armies:

> necessarily extends to all legislation essential to the prosecution of the war with vigor and success, except such as interferes with the command of the forces and conduct of campaigns. That power and duty belongs to the President as commander in chief.

In exercising this power our Presidents have taken many actions of an at least semipolitical nature. In the Civil War, President Lincoln offered the Confederate States the status of a belligerent. In World War I, President Wilson declared that our armies in Europe should be under separate command—that of General Pershing—rather than incorporated into existing groups or armies commanded by French or British generals. In World War II, it was President Roosevelt who, in collaboration with Prime Minister Churchill but not Congress or congressional leaders, decided whether to emphasize the Atlantic or the Pacific theater, where the reconquest of Axis-captured territory should begin, what terms of surrender to demand and similar questions. In the Korean War, President Truman decided whether our forces should pursue those of North Korea into that country, and whether to pursue Communist planes north of the Yalu River.

The Presidents have also repeatedly used armed force in the absence of any expression of the will of Congress.

Although, of course, practice cannot supply power when none exists, it is true, as once said by Justice Frankfurter, that "deeply embedded traditional ways of conducting government cannot supplant the Constitution or legislation, but they give meaning to the words of the text or supply them." In the same opinion he expressed the thought that when government has "consistently operated" in a given way over a long period of time, that fact "fairly establishes that it has operated according to its true nature." Thus the following military actions of the Presidents strongly suggest that the power to take those actions exists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1801 President Jefferson used the Navy to subdue the Barbary pirates; he thought congressional authority unnecessary because his action was, he said, "defensive"; the pirates had attacked our merchant ships, albeit not the Navy. Congressional authority was necessary only for offensive action, in his opinion. In 1846 President Polk instructed the Army to advance south of the Nueces River, then claimed by Mexico as its northern boundary and protected by Mexican troops. This advance, and the consequent battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, led to the Mexican War declared by Congress. In 1854 President Pierce approved the action of a naval officer who bombarded Greytown, Nicaragua, because a revolutionary government refused to make reparations for damage and violence to United States citizens. In 1900 President McKinley sent five thousand troops as a component of an international force to protect foreign lives and property during the Boxer Rebellion in China. In the first twenty years of this century Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson sent military expeditions to various countries in Latin America.

Outstanding was the action of President Truman in engaging in the Korean War without congressional authority. This action was, of course, authorized by the United Nations Assembly, but that Assembly could not add to the power of the President under the municipal law of the United States. What the Assembly's resolution did accomplish was to eliminate any issue of international law.

It is presumably because of the Korean War precedent that associates of President Nixon have, if correctly reported by the press, expressed indifference to the proposed repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

President and Congress

There are limits to the power of the President to conduct war, whether Congress authorized the war or not. For instance, as President Truman discovered, the President's powers as commander in chief do not permit him, at least in the absence of congressional authority, to seize steel mills struck by a labor dispute although the purpose of the seizure was to insure uninterrupted supplies to our troops. It will be noted that President Truman attempted to seize by mere executive order practically all the steel-making plants of the country, only a small fraction of whose total product was needed by our forces. Conceivably the result would have been different if he had ordered troops to seize a particular mill making some single device urgently required. In any event, the steel seizure case did not involve the deployment of any armed forces.

We now come to the powers of the President when in conflict with the will of Congress. If the Church-Cooper Amendment should be adopted and President Nixon directed another sortie into Cambodia, such a situation would arise. That Amendment would forbid the President to maintain troops or military advisers in Cambodia, or even to make a contract with any foreign power or individual for military instruction or combat activity in Cambodia.

Directly in point is the decision of the Supreme Court in 1926 in *Myers* v. *United States*. That case itself concerned a mere postmaster but the Court recognized that necessarily at issue was the question whether President Andrew Johnson acted lawfully when in 1868 he had removed Secretary of War Stanton. The Tenure of Office Act of 1867, then in effect, provided that all officers appointed with the consent of the Senate should hold office until their successors should have in like manner been appointed and qualified. The Senate had not consented to the appointment of the successor Secretary of War nominated by the President (General Grant).

President Andrew Johnson persisted in the removal of Secretary Stanton; for doing so he was impeached. The Senate acquitted him, but as the vote was 35 for conviction and nineteen for acquittal, a two-thirds vote being required for conviction, it did not have status as a conclusive decision.

The Court held, in a thorough 71-page opinion by Chief Justice Taft, that a similar statute applicable to postmaster Meyers was unconstitutional expressly noting that the effect of its decision was that President Andrew Johnson had in 1868 acted within his powers and that the Tenure of Office Act of 1867 was unconstitutional.

The particular duty imposed upon the President by the Constitution with which the Tenure of Office Act was in conflict, was "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The President, the Court reasoned, could not perform this duty with officers who did not enjoy his confidence; any limitation on his power of removal was in consistent with this duty.

Congress: More Equal?

The Court placed great reliance on the fact that the President had, without challenge, exercised an unrestricted power of removal from the time of the First Congress until the enactment of the Tenure of Office Act of 1867, and that after the enactment of that statute, successive Presidents had consistently maintained that their power of removal could not be constitutionally restricted, a point of view regarding which there had been sympathetic court expressions, albeit not definite adjudications. The Court belittled the events of 1867-1868 as a "heated political difference of opinion" and saying that "the extremes to which the majority in both Houses carried legislative measures in that matter [the reconstruction of the South] are now recognized by all who calmly review the history of that episode in our government. . . . Without animadverting on the character of the measures taken, we are certainly justified in saying that they should not be given the weight effecting proper constitutional construction to be accorded to that reached by the First Congress of the United States during a political calm and acquiesced in by the whole government for three-quarters of a century."

Interference with the President's command of the Armed Forces is a far more direct infringement of a constitutional power than a limitation upon removal of officers. That power of command is not only expressly stated in the Constitution, but has been recognized by long practice as authorizing the direction of our Armed Forces, a recognition not interrupted by any exception comparable to the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson. If the Supreme Court was right in the *Meyers* case, the Church-Cooper Amendment must be regarded as unconstitutional.

That a claim of power by Congress to direct the President in the deployment of forces is now being considered with apparent seriousness will presumably be regarded in times to come as evidencing "the extremes to which [members of] both Houses carried legislative measures" in the matter of Cambodia. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEN AND NOW

Bastille Day Revisited

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

"Plots, massacres, assassinations, seem to some people a trivial price for obtaining a revolution. A cheap, bloodless reformation, a guiltless liberty, appear flat and vapid to their taste," wrote Edmund Burke, viewing the destruction of the established order in France by a curious alliance of intellectuals, slum-dwellers, soldiers and affluent young aristocrats turning against their elders. The French had launched into the first phase of a revolutionary cycle that shows little sign of abating even today.

This summer, their most recent autocrat safely off stage again, Parisians can be expected to celebrate the beginning of it all with special zest. Bastille Day, July 14, 1970, ought to be a memorable one.

For many Frenchmen it is still the paramount national holiday—redolent of those two most cherished but usually incompatible French institutions, *Liberté* and *la Gloire*.

But was it really? Like so much of French history, the Bastille legend has become an emotional rallying point—a highly stylized *tableau vivant* trotted out on patriotic occasions and treated with blind veneration by all but a few critical historians.

With that Gallic genius for building beautiful cloudcastles with the scantiest raw materials, a deathless myth was built out of the mob seizure of a ramshackle old fortress. Briefly stated, the Bastille myth is that of a freedom-loving citizenry liberating a bastion of the corrupt *ancien régime*, and delivering a body blow to a tyrannic status quo.

Was there a basis for the myth? To begin with, there *was* the Bastille itself—a hulking, sinister fastness dating back to the fourteenth century. For generations it served as a state prison and, on some occasions, it had housed genuine victims of injustice. Treatment, on the whole, was good, and some prisoners actually complimented the cuisine, which was considered excellent even by Parisian standards.

All during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though, dark rumors abounded—tales of the Man in the Iron Mask (who was, in fact, an obscure Italian confidence man named Mattioli who never even wore an iron mask)—and whispered legends of other nameless victims.

Thus the Bastille came to occupy a supreme post in the liberal-revolutionary demonology of the 1780s—similar to the position of the Pentagon today.

So much for the Bastille myth. There is a second, more compelling fascination that the Bastille episode holds for the contemporary reader. Reviewing the incident, it reads like an off-Broadway version of one of our own "confrontations."

The ingredients are all there:

—The mindless rage of an unlettered (nowadays, usually four-lettered) mob, whipped into a frenzy by outside agitators (Yes, Virginia, there *were* outside agitators in Paris in 1789, many of them working for the King's jealous cousin, the Duc d'Orléans, fomenting a revolt aimed at removing Louis XVI from the throne in favor of his infant son, with Orléans serving as regent).

—A scattering of "respectable" intellectuals, aristos and middle-class writers, artists and professional men who joined the melee for a variety of selfish or naïve reasons.

—A gray-headed (soon-to-be headless) weakling in authority, fumbling in half-hearted defense of the Establishment, unaware of the full significance of events, even as they swept over him.

—Plenty of innocent victims, always *de rigueur* for such occasions, especially when a Parisian mob figures in the piece.

—And, finally, one of those proverbial long, hot summers following a hungry winter.

One hundred and eighty one years are small beer in the scheme of history, and, all things considered, that July of 1789 was unnervingly similar to this one.

Amidst rumors of riot and sedition, Louis XVI had ordered large detachments of troops, some of them from the crack foreign regiments that had served in the French army for over a century, to concentrate in and around Paris. This, in turn, led to worried speculation among the people.

When, on July 11, the King dismissed his Minister of Finance, Jacques Necker, the flames leapt higher. Necker was a dour, mediocre Swiss financier who cared very little for the French and was baffled by the mob demonstrations in his support. His only real accomplishment was his daughter, Germaine (the future Madame de Stael). But, tempers were high, the weather was hot, and someone had distributed *papier-maché* busts of Necker to the parading crowds who, on cue, demanded his reinstatement.

On the street corners, impassioned orators appeared, as if by plan, warning of non-existent royal plots. Windows were broken, crowds began to mill aimlessly about the city, and all business was suspended. The medieval city government crumbled in the face of chaos, and, without any central command being given, the tocsin began to sound throughout the city.

On July 13, that furtive Parisian chronicler, Restif de la Bretonne, made his usual rounds, and noted a sinister new development. "The bandits of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel," and the "bandits of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine," (the city's filthiest, most crime-infested slums) were on the march.

The tocsin sounded again, and alarmed burghers formed patrols, fearing a royalist coup on the one extreme, and a slum riot on the other. At the same time, bogus patrols of looters began breaking into vacated townhouses, pilfering and raping any servant girls left behind by the fleeing owners.

Restif, continuing his evening prowl about the city, noted that all was "unrest and consternation." Tomorrow, the mob had announced, it would go to the Bastille. Looting increased and panic sped across Paris. It was said that the governor of the Bastille had a vast hoard of weapons and gunpowder. He was ready, they said, to level the city.

On the eve of July 14, the object of all this attention, the Bastille, was garrisoned by a handful of ancient pensioners, bleary-eyed old soldiers shuffling along on sentry duty, oblivious to the gathering storm. A few days

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

earlier, they had been reinforced by 34 Swiss Guards, bringing their strength up to about 130 men—over half of them hoary pensioners.

Their commander was the Marquis de Launay, a meek, colorless little man who, by virtue of birth and years, had been given the post of Governor of the Bastille. Overnight, his sinecure had turned into a nightmare.

On the morning of July 14, Louis de Flue, the Swiss officer who had led in the meager reinforcement, learned that a band of local citizens had issued Governor de Launay a non-negotiable demand. The presence of cannon on the Bastille battlements (where they had stood for centuries) now "alarmed" the citizens. They must be removed at once.

De Flue recalled with frustration that de Launay "ordered the guns to be withdrawn and had the embrasures blocked with planks and blocks of wood."

For the next few hours, an uneasy truce was maintained between the tiny garrison and the hostile sea of faces without the walls. Then, at about 3 o'clock, a more militant band of citizens appeared, along with some members of the crack *Garde Francaise* who had defected to the mob. More strident parleying began.

Now there was a new non-negotiable demand—unconditional surrender of the fortress itself. De Launay, who bore the King's commission, and who was a decent man, if not a very strong one, wavered between outright rejection of the ultimatum and further attempts at compromise.

Suddenly, the crowd attacked the outlying arsenal (all arms and powder had already been withdrawn into the Bastille itself). The Governor ordered his men not to fire on the attackers in what must have been one of the earliest recorded applications of the "human rights over property rights" line.

Now the shooting began in earnest. The chains to the drawbridge guarding the outer courtyard were cut through, and the mob poured into the outer court. When the Governor asked them what they wanted, they shouted for him to lower the bridge to the inner court —the heart of the Bastille. Mustering a bit of spine, de Launay replied that he could not yield possession of the fortress. Disperse, he told them, or he would order his men into action.

"Lower the bridges! Lower the bridges! Lower the bridges!" went up the chant, and the mob refused to move back. Reluctantly, de Launay gave the order for thirty sentinels posted near the gate to open fire.

The armed crowd rushed forward, was repulsed; then attacked and retreated a second time.

A pretty young servant girl, fleeing from one of the outbuildings, was seized by the attackers. Someone muttered that she was de Launay's daughter (in fact, she was no relation at all), and a group of militants decided to hurl her into the flames while her supposed father watched aghast from the tower. This little patriotic gesture was cut short by a group of moderate revolutionaries, but it was the first hint of the blood lust building in some of the members of the mob.

Now the rebels were reinforced by artillery, brought in by more deserting troops from the countryside. This had more of a morale than a practical effect since the guns were not siege caliber, but it egged the crowd on.

De Launay and his men were safe for the time being. But their leader showed signs of cracking under the strain. Instead of putting up a stout, regular defense, he threatened to blow the Bastille, its garrison, the besiegers and a good chunk of Paris itself, sky high. Having made the threat, he immediately lost his nerve or, as some accounts have it, had the torch snatched from his hand by a member of the garrison, one Béquart, who later had his hand hacked off and was butchered by the grateful forces of liberation. In any case, his resolution gone, de Launay decided to surrender. An emissary from the mob, perched on a wooden plank, spoke with de Flue through a hole in the drawbridge. Accounts of the exchange vary, but the most widely credited version has the emissary, a half-pay officer, demanding the surrender of the Bastille and guaranteeing safe conduct and full amnesty for the garrison, on his word of honor as an officer.

The bridge clanked down, and the besiegers flooded in with such haste that many of them would have been crushed or hurled into the moat by weight of their own numbers if some of the *Garde Française* had not remembered their discipline and wheeled about, momentarily halting the flood. The first wave to reach the garrison was made up mostly of leaders and soldiers. They did their best to honor the terms of the surrender. But the second wave included some of those dreaded *sans-culottes* of the Faubourgs Saint-Marcel and Saint-Antoine.

All officers were seized, and the mob rampaged through the Bastille, smashing windows, destroying furniture and pillaging. Many of the garrison were massacred in cold blood.

Some of the braver, cooler heads among the victors—mostly old soldiers themselves—formed up around the captives and began to lead them out of the Bastille to the Hôtel-de-Ville. De Launay, in an appropriately gray, nondescript suit, was pelted and slashed at from all sides. His escort was quickly scattered and the unfortunate Governor was stabbed and hacked at by a hundred hands. His last words were a plea, "O friends, kill me fast!"

The mutilated corpse was dumped in a gutter where some newly liberated citizens later helped themselves to its entrails as souvenirs of the great day. De Launay's head, mounted on a pike, was paraded triumphantly through the streets.

The Swiss de Flue was more fortunate than many, and was hustled off, bruised but alive, to write an account of the bloody affair.

Poor, fat, well-intentioned King Louis sat at Versailles, oblivious to it all. His diary entry for July 14, 1789 is one word: "Nothing," and, when, during the night, the Duc de Liancourt brought him news of the disaster, the King responded with a placid, "It's a revolt."

"No, Sire," answered de Liancourt, "it's a revolution!"

That same evening, as he made his nightly rounds, Restif de la Bretonne had his first glimpse of one aspect of the new France—two mauled heads suspended on pikes, de Launay and one of his officers. There were grisly reminders of the day's events everywhere: a raving *sans-culotte* waving someone's bloody entrails; huddled, battered prisoners, still in danger from the mob; headless trunks sprawled crazily in the gutter.

What, besides over a hundred useless deaths, had the liberation of the Bastille yielded? In the first flush of success the victors had forgotten to look for those untold legions of prisoners that everyone had heard about. When they recov-

(Continues on page 746)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RUSSELL KIRK

SURVIVAL OF LOST CAUSES: TRAQUAIR

FROM THE ACADEMY

At this season, when myriads of my compatriots make their way to foreign parts (returning, about Labor Day, empty-pocketed but refreshed), various readers of this page inquire of me what they ought to see in Scotland. Knowing that I possess a little haunted old house on the Firth of Forth, they take it that I may be able to suggest something less routine than that standard three-day tour of Edinburgh, the Trossachs and Loch Lomond so favored by the tourist agencies.

Aye, I can suggest Scottish scenes less frequented but no less deserving of the connoisseur of the picturesque. For this summer, I commend a Lost Cause Tour. Scotland is rich in memorials of Lost Causes—from those strange towers the prehistoric brochs of Shetland (probably the refuge of a forgotten aristocracy that fled out of southern parts to escape Roman slave-raiders) to St. Ninian's Cave on the western shore of Galloway (the first Scottish foothold of Columban Christianity, fated to give place to the Latin rite).

Just now, however, I confine myself principally to describing the finest specimen of the Lost Causes of Jacobitism and the Old Profession (the Catholic faith) that endures in stone—nay, even as a living tradition—unto our time. I mean the ancient house of Traquair, in Peebleshire, said to be oldest continuously inhabited dwelling in Scotland. Overlooked by a range of hills like bald old men, Traquair House stands open to the public; indeed, the more visitors come, the better pleased are the laird and lady of Traquair, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Maxwell Stuart.

Tully-Veolan, the house of the Jacobite Baron of Bradwardine in Scott's romance *Waverly*, is drawn in part from the tall harled mansion (grown up round a Border keep) of Traquair. "A solitary old chateau," Sir Walter calls Traquair in one of his letters; there he obtained from the last Lord Traquair eggs (for breeding) "of a curious species of half-reclaimed wild-ducks," found nowhere else in Scotland. Long after Scott's death, Traquair passed to Lady Louisa Stuart, the Wizard's close friend and correspondend, who lived to be a hundred.

Traquair's principal gates, surmounted by grotesque bears of stone, have been shut ever since 1745, the legend runs; the laird vowed they should not be opened until a Stuart should regain the throne, a prospect now not altogether likely. But the Stuarts of Traquair had been Jacobite—and Papist, into the bargain—long before that. The first Earl of Traquair, sometime Lord Treasurer, ended his days as a mendicant, having been ruined in the Civil War. The second earl suffered heavily for adhering to the Old Profession; a secret chapel and a secret stair survive from his time. The fourth earl was imprisoned because of his connection with the rising of 1715; the fifth earl spent two years in the Tower for his share in the '45.

Traquair's little gem of a library, with its quaint fresco-portraits, is as perfectly preserved as the grander library of the historian Guicciardini, in the Guicciardini palace in Florence. In the King's Room, where Mary Queen of Scots slept once, is a magnificent canopied bed from another house of the family, Terregles (now demolished)—and Mary Stuart slept in that particular bed, too. The murdered queen's rosary and crucifix are in Traquair's museum; and one finds, also, the carved cradle of King James VI and I, Mary's son.

Walking the long, shaded avenue that leads from the Bear Gates to the high austere face of Traquair House, one meditates on Lost Causes. There are no lost causes, T. S. Eliot wrote, because there are no gained causes: We fight the same battles afresh in every generation. After all, Popery—long proscribed in Scotland—has raised new cathedrals in that land, since the middle of the nineteenth century. And though the last of the Stuart claimants, the Cardinal of York, is entombed beneath Canova's marble in St. Peter's, still there lingers in Scotland something of the old Jacobite loyalty and gallantry—in part because Walter Scott's imagination built Tully-Veolan. Houses have stood long enough, says Bradwardine, if they stand 'til they fall with honor. So it was with the Stuarts at Culloden. But the house of Traquair, I trust, being stoutly built, will stand for another six centuries.

SIR JOHN STUART, fourth Laird of Traquair, was captain of Queen Mary's guard, covering her flight from Holyrood House after the murder of Rizzio. "In my end is my beginning," said Mary Stuart, on the eve of her execution at Fotheringhay. That sentence, woven into Eliot's *Four Quartettes*, is graven on Eliot's tombstone at East Coker. Mary is more of a heroine in our time than she was in her own day: No cause defended with fortitude is wholly lost.

Crowds came to Traquair last summer because Ava Gardner had made a film there. But go you thither, friends, in memory of Queen Mary and the Marquis of Montrose and their adherents.

You might seek out, too, the houses (still sound) where Mary Stuart stayed at St. Andrews, Inverness, Jedburgh and other old towns; or the tomb-effigy of Montrose (opposite that of Argyll, his deadly enemy) in the Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh. In misty Moidart, far to the west, stands a monument on the spot where Prince Charles rallied the clans for the last effort of the Old Cause; and away to the north, one may walk the stricken field of Culloden—and see Culloden House. If you maintain some Cause, forlorn though it may seem, the stones of an earlier desperate contest may speak to you. They whisper with gentle dignity at Traquair. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DELECTATIONS

The Pilgrims Slept Here Too

DAVID BRUDNOY

PROVINCETOWN, CAPE COD: Before establishing their "cittie upon a hille" at Plymouth in 1620, William Bradford's flock stopped to write the Mayflower Compact here. To grind home that event, Provincetown has erected a tall and terrible stone monstrosity modeled (loosely) on a particularly beautiful late medieval tower in Siena. It gives a stolid, forbidding initial impression of New England's breeziest, most pleasant summer resort. If converted into a vertical motel, the Pilgrim Monument would be a great place to stay; as Frank Lloyd Wright said of Yale's Harkness Tower, if you lived there you'd never have to see it.

Back before Stewart Udall got religion and nationalized the beaches, we used to sleep in the sand dunes at night, swim free all day, and parade back and forth all evening along aptly named Commercial Street—a cheap weekend no longer so easy to come by. Well, everything's less fun nowadays, and too many places charge admission and post off-limits hours, including P'town. But it's still my summer place and probably always will be.

Once mainly an artists' colony, when Eugene O'Neil was flexing his muscles at the Playhouse, P'town went through its bourgeois phase somewhat later: Everybody had six children and a collie. Then came the gay summer, followed by the two nasty years P'town thought hippieism had taken over. Maybe by digging in and hibernating the rest of the year, Provincetown's permanent people have managed to put up with these types every summer.

Diversions to keep kiddies from driving their folks wild are plentiful—an Aquarium, the Chrysler Art Museum with its wacky collection of "old masters," nooks and crannies hiding mad boutiques, sidewalk artists, movies, the water and the dunes. And of course, for wearing out a child's energy, nothing beats hikes to the top of the Monument and back down. Maybe that's why it was built. But P'town's not really for children. Music here is mainly folk and rock, and big entertainment runs to soul singers and the Madeira Club's Lynne Carter, a fiendishly wicked impressionist who does to/for Hermione Gingold, Phyllis Diller and the usual bag of great ladies what David Frye does to Buckley, Humphrey, Nixon et al.

The generation chasm on Commercial Street is gaping, even somewhat demoralizing. The weekenders' white calves beneath madras bermudas look almost indecent edging past the brown bare legs of the bearded summer kids sporting Caucasian Afros. And sometimes a hint of grass competing with fat cigar smoke is a bit thick, although the breeze usually takes care of that. A common sight is the New York family of seven stumbling into the best leather shop in town, Zebo's Leather, looking for a purse for Aunt Molly. They won't find it, but if their taste runs to sandals and belts (mine does) or to leather trousers (mine doesn't), they'll find the workmanship of Zebo's craftsmen incomparable.

Write ahead to The Moors, Crown and Anchor, Boatslip or Provincetown Inn, else be prepared for pot luck—sometimes literally—in lodging. I don't care much where I bed down, because my quests here are for sun, food, drink, and "forget all my troubles." But, diet or no, I eat. Now P'town's not Paris and S'il Vous Plait isn't Tour d'Argent, but it's a civilized place to start—don't skip their Shrimp Robert—after which try Colonial Inn at the other end of Commercial Street, where the chilled gazpacho is the best on the Cape, and the paella is worthy of Madrid.

If you've had it with tomato sauce but know the delights of good Italian cooking, visit Ciro and Sal's on Kiley Court just off Commercial Street. From the manicotti on up, Ciro has a light hand; everything's delicately seasoned and subtle-tasting, though the place is usually crowded and the service needs tightening. Order the vitello alla milanese or vitello angelina, two very different veal dishes, or the petti di pollo genovese.

Success hurts, they say, and the Provincetown Mews, which used to be preeminent here, fell on bad times last summer. The service, from college boys who care, was still understated and impeccable, the Mediterranean decor was subdued, and the generally baroque music was rarely loud. But one tended to get hassled by the proprietress if a complaint had to be put in to the kitchen. The wine list, however, was glorious and the food was usually worth it: Chicken Mephisto, with a Belgian sauce of mustard, mint and watercress; or medaillon of filet of beef; or Duckling Maison; any of the lobsters or coquille St. Jacques. This year the Mews has changed hands and it's too early to tell which way it's going. But if you encounter a peasant-dressed waitress some night, turn tail. Peasant-dressed waitresses are P'town's code-girls for disaster.

Across the street from Ciro and Sal's at The Buttery, the menu is limited but the food is the best in town. When I asked why no liquor, I was reminded that this is Massachusetts—in P'town you almost forget—and The Buttery is within so many (thirty?) yards of a church, you see, whereas Ciro and Sal's is twenty feet farther away and so. . . . So bring your own wine or put up with the complimentary flacon. Best to bring your own. At The Buttery, I also forget that most Massachusetts restaurants rarely rise above the clam chowder level, and that's worth a trip down-Cape any day. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Words that Slay, Wisdom that Mends

WILL HERBERG

The Governor Listeth: A Book of Inspired Political Reflections
By William F. Buckley Jr.
Putnam, 445 pp., $7.95

Political commentators tend to be either of the cosmic pundit type, such as Walter Lippmann or James Reston, or of the bleeding-heart variety, such as Murray Kempton. William F. Buckley Jr. is of neither kind; he is merely the most acute, the most far-ranging, and the most readable political commentator practicing the art today. This was already established by his work as editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and by the essays in his earlier volume, *The Jeweler's Eye*. It is now confirmed and reconfirmed in a magnificent way in this new collection of articles, book reviews and columns published under the esoteric title (explained in the introduction) *The Governor Listeth*. As you see, I am an ardent admirer of Mr. Buckley's writing. And, I hope, with good reason.

Mr. Buckley's writing is clear and precise in expression, lucid and unimpeded in communication; in polemic, sharp with mounting dramatic tension. He does not display the *saeva indignatio* of a Jonathan Swift; instead, he reveals a bland *hauteur* which slays all the more deadly.

The variety of themes touched upon in this volume exhibits Mr. Buckley at his far-ranging best; it is fascinating, but also, at first sight, a little bewildering. Within its covers, there are essays on the problems and perplexities of our time, on the agony of Pope Paul VI, and on the difficulties of Joe Namath, which we are to try to understand. Obviously, no reviewer could possibly give an adequate idea of the full content of a volume such as this. A mere listing of the sections into which the book is divided will show with what we are confronted.

There is, first, a section on "Politics," with 27 essays; a section on "Ideas, Convictions, Ideology," with ten; another on "America and the Blacks," with seven; one on "The Cold War," with 22; one on "Vietnam," with ten; one on "Apollo" (space flight), with three; one on "Religion, especially Catholicism," with seven; one on "Civil Disorder," with six; one on "Controversy," with four; one on "The Kids," with eight; one on "Manners, Mannerists," with eight; one on "R I Ps, Tributes, Demurrals," with nine; and, finally, as *envoi*, a closing section "Surcease," with a single closing essay, "A Week Aboard *Cyrano*," celebrating yachting, Mr. Buckley's favorite sport along with political writing. One hundred and twelve essays all told—and each with verve and freshness and finish, as though it were the one and only work of the author's. Many of these pieces have appeared in Mr. Buckley's syndicated column; others in NATIONAL REVIEW; still others in a variety of journals. But all will bear reading and rereading; for, in them, one sees mirrored a mind forever inquiring, forever weighing, forever judging; yet a mind firmly fixed in the eternal verities.

IT IS QUITE unnecessary to say that, on the great majority of viewpoints in these essays, I quite agree with Mr. Buckley, who expresses them with such wit, with such force and clarity. He understands the realities and exigencies of American politics, the necessities and pressures of the world situation, the duties and responsibilities of the American government. There are points here and there I would want to qualify, or even disagree with. Two of these points of disagreement I will develop below. But I want to say here and now that they loom very small in Mr. Buckley's work and should not be exaggerated beyond their proper scope.

But, before I get to these points of criticism, I want to pay my tribute to Mr. Buckley's positive genius for the unforgettable phrase. It was Mr. Buckley who made "epicene" into a fighting word in politics. Who but Mr. Buckley could have described the *Village Voice* as "that little New York journal which energetically does its iconoclastic push-ups once a week, and sort of looks about—whee!—at its audience, as if to say, 'have you ever seen anybody as irreverent as us-folks?' " Or, "show me the most adamantly liberal professor at any university, and I will show you the likeliest candidate for dean of illiberal arts and letters"? Or, a "speech [of Mr. Rockefeller's] so heavy with rhetorical pomposity that it would have required a Saturn IV booster to launch it"? Or, Professor Galbraith "who always gives the impression that he is on very temporary leave of absence from Olympus, where he holds classes on the maintenance of divine standards"? Who but Mr. Buckley would dare offer the common reader nonchalant references in a fugitive essay to James Reston as the "Duns Scotus of the world of journalism," to Saint Augustine, to Montaigne, to Thomas Hobbes, to Dionysius of Syracuse, and make the common reader like it and feel that he may not be so common after all?

But now to my points of contention. Mr. Buckley has no qualms about disagreeing, where he feels it necessary, with thinkers whom he ordinarily admires without stint—with Milton Fried-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man, for example (in the essay, "Some Conservatives and the Real World"). So I will not omit my criticism.

I find Mr. Buckley weak on two of the most important issues confronting the American people today—labor unionism and the so-called "race question." Of the scores of essays in this volume, he devotes just two to "The Labor Unions," and these two essays are mostly concerned with labor's follies and malpractices; he does not seem to see the service labor unionism has rendered in reintegrating the industrial proletariat into bourgeois society and frustrating the Marxist expectations that the industrial workers would come to form an alienated "outsider" element open to revolutionary appeals. If America's working class, and the working class of like countries in Western Europe, has come to constitute the most stable and conservative group of the population, as indeed it has, this is in no small measure due to the deradicalizing effect of labor unionism.

Just a few weeks ago, we saw what to many conservatives must have seemed the strange paradox of 150,000 construction workers ("hard hats") and other labor elements demonstrating *for* America, *for* the flag, *for* our national policy in Indochina, while middle-class students were demonstrating, often violently, *against*. Admittedly, these demonstrations took place considerably after the essays in this volume were written: but the essential conservatism of the labor movement has been there to be observed for some decades (who has been the most consistent, the most intransigent enemy of Soviet Communism, if not the American Federation of Labor?). Somehow, Mr. Buckley seems to have missed it; and that I cannot but regret.

On the so-called "race question," Mr. Buckley's failing is in the opposite direction. He naturally abhors the grosser forms of black radicalism, but his general attitude smacks too much of an upper-class benignity to these "poor, mistreated people," which tolerates many things he would indignantly reject in others. Three times he repeats that he favors the preferential hiring of blacks, although he is somewhat disturbed that such preferential hiring may work invidiously against the whites, intensifying racial antagonisms. He even goes so far as to allow vicious radical indoctrination in the public schools in black communities (he is writing of "The Brownsville Affair"). But I may not be believed unless I quote the passage:

> *Q*. What about ideological indoctrination? What if the teacher preaches the thought of Mao Tse-tung, or advances the principles of Karl Marx? Should he be tolerated?
>
> *A*. My inclination would be to say yes. Tolerate it over a period of two or three years . . ."

which he would never do were it a white school in a white community that was in question.

In general, although there are seven essays of considerable length devoted to "America and the Blacks," Mr. Buckley does not seem to deal with this question in the only realistic way, by seeing the Negro as the last of the ethnic-migrant groups that have made America, as taking the first steps on the long and painful road upward that earlier ethnic-migrant groups had taken before him, only under specially difficult conditions. He therefore does not see the real virtues of the policy of "benign neglect," which historians and sociologists recognize served so well in the past in relation to earlier ethnic-migrant groups making their way in American society.

These are real criticisms but they do not materially diminish the wit, the brilliance, and the wisdom that shine forth from the essays included in this volume. In the heyday of Gladstonian liberalism, conservatives (Tories) were wont to be called the "stupid party." And, indeed, for the great mass of the stolid squirearchy that was one of the main sources of strength of the Tories, this might well have been the case, although this "stupidity" was the stolidity that Walter Bagehot hailed as the ballast keeping the ship of state even on its course. And there was always Disraeli! But today the tables are turned: it is the liberals who are the stupid party, and the conservatives who exhibit the moral and political intelligence in the life of the nation. In bringing about this reversal, no one in this country has been more effective than William F. Buckley Jr., whose high gifts as a journalist and commentator are literally beyond compare. Read this book and *The Jeweler's Eye*, and see for yourself. □

Five Lectures. Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia
By Herbert Marcuse. Translations by Jeremy J. Shapiro and Shierry M. Weber
Beacon, 108 pp. $7.50

INCOHERENT NIHILIST

ELISEO VIVAS

The first three of these lectures reexamine Marcuse's rejection of the thesis of *Civilization and Its Discontents*. The fourth restates the assertion that with our developed technology "the vital biological need for peace . . . the need for calm, the need to be alone, . . . the need for 'undeserved' happiness," could be fulfilled were we willing to rear his vague dystopia. The fifth lecture asserts that "there is a right or law higher than positive law" that commands resistance, civil disobedience, and that points "to potentially liberating violence."

It will be remembered that in *Eros and Civilization* (1955) Marcuse argued against Freud, who held that the cost of civilization (which is to say, of our humanity) is ineradicable frustration. The Founder was wrong because he failed to distinguish between "surplus repression" and the repression or sublimation required to carry on the essential tasks of a "rational" life as conceived by Marcuse. Note in passing that by arguing *tout court* as if sublimation were synonymous with repres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's how you can make a Conservative out of someone you know

Put National Review in his hands. It's about the quickest way you can find to turn a *potential* conservative into an *actual* conservative. We know, because many of our regular subscribers have been doing just that for years with great success. Of course, we don't expect you to brave hail or high water to do it—we'll be more than happy to take care of that part ourselves. What we *can't* do is locate these potential conservatives. We don't know who they are but *you* do. They're your friends, relatives, neighbors, business and social acquaintances.

Think about it for a moment, right now. Pick someone you know (who doesn't already get NR) who thinks pretty much as you do about taxes, crime in the streets, inflation, narcotics, his children's education, etc. He may not realize it yet but he'd be vitally interested in what conservatives have to say about these things—(and where do conservatives say it better than in *National Review*?).

Rip out the card facing this page, NOW, and use it to introduce NR to your potential conservative at the special introductory rate of only $6.95 for the next nine months. He'll be glad you did. So will you. So will we. You don't often get a chance to make so many people happy with one stroke of the pen. So do it now.

LICENSED TO GALE GROUP
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion, Marcuse erases the difference between the degrees of frustration that the various forms of sublimation inflict.

Marcuse now returns to the problem in order to argue that the psyche is a socio-political product, subject therefore to historical determinations. The breakdown of the family today is no longer productive of the Oedipal conflict because the office of the father has been taken up by social agencies. The result is a weaker ego than that produced by the Oedipal conflict. This weakness, in turn, allows repressive social forces to modify the form of domination imposed on us. Our "totalitarian democracy" internalizes repression and leads its victims, seemingly happy, to demand what our "irrational" system produces, which is what, with the end in mind of repressing us, society bamboozles us into demanding. It's a *Brave New World*—earlier called by Marcuse "the hell of the Affluent Society"—in which we all, repressors and repressed alike, fool ourselves into believing we are happy.

IF MARCUSE were right, and the Freudian notion of the psyche, "which appears to be purely biological [were] fundamentally social and historical," he would have started his analysis from a correct premise. But the premise assumes that Freud was clear about the relationship between body and mind; and this is one of several basic problems that the Founder left in a complete muddle and that no one following the route he opened has satisfactorily cleared. For Freud was a materialist who also defended the autonomy of the mind and who, it will be remembered, with admirable candor called his theory of instincts his "mythology," but was also certain that instincts had a somatic source. Since this means that

Freud's theory of the psyche cannot be interpreted univocally, it cannot be used to ground conclusions about the cost of our humanity.

But assume with Marcuse that "the psyche appears to be more and more a piece of social totality." *Cui bono?* What is wrong with Marcuse's conception of the rational life is not only his view of the socio-political nature of the psyche; worse is his unexamined hedonism, a radical error he shares with Freud. Marcuse tells us that the organism's instinctual structure "is directed toward producing pleasure," and by a fancy feat of mental juggling, he arrives at the conclusion that the death instinct is a form of the pleasure principle.

BUT his hedonism is the result of coarse analysis. Accepting the "mythology," what an instinct drives toward is the object that relieves tension either through the charge or discharge of an organ. Pleasure is usually the concomitant of the relief of tension. But besides being a variable, rigorously speaking pleasure is not the primary goal of the instinct, although after satisfaction it may become one of the components of the goal. We speak ambiguously of "the satisfaction of an instinct," and thus confuse the release of tension with the pleasure the release produces. That in varying degrees men seek pleasure no one doubts. But that all they seek is pleasure is a piece of nonsense as old as it is reductive.

This is not all. Marcuse fails to distinguish between psychological and ethical hedonism, and seems to infer the latter from the former. "Seems," because one cannot be clear about what he is doing at this point, since the necessary distinctions are lacking. But he seems to lay it down that a rational life ought to seek pleasure—or as he used to put it until recently, ought to seek the enjoyment of polymorphic

RANDOM NOTES

■ SEPTEMBER BOOKS: James MacGregor Burns follows *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* with *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (Harcourt, $10). New volume runs from third term to death. . . . Subtitled "A People's Politic for the Seventies" is *The Eye of the Storm* (Herder & Herder, $5.95) by Sen. Albert Gore, who may have free time for autograph parties after Nov. 3. . . . *Mary* is an early Nabokov, translated for the first time (McGraw-Hill, $7.95).

Second volume of C. L. Sulzberger's memoirs will be *The Last of the Giants* (Macmillan). Title refers to Churchill and de Gaulle. . . . Also from Macmillan is H. C. Robbins Landon's *Beethoven*, a big $25 pictorial biography for the bicentennial. . . . *The Years of MacArthur: 1880-1941* is the first of two volumes by D. Clayton James (Houghton, $12.50). . . . White activist Don A. Schanche put in two years with Eldridge and the brothers, records his disenchantment in *Uptight with the Panthers* (McKay, $6.95).

Advance notices of Arthur Mizener's biography of Ford Madox Ford, *The Saddest Story*, suggest it may become the definitive life (World, $12.95). . . . Bishop Robinson (*Honest to God*) still dragging coals to Newcastle. Now it's *Christian Freedom in a Permissive Society* (Westminster). From the same house, another alarum about The Menace: John C. Cooper's *The Turn Right* (paper, $2.65; postponed from 1963?).

■ IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME: There's now an Ecology Book Club, offering selections like *Famine 1975!*, *Crisis in Eden* and *The Hudson River*, at nice discounts. Details from Box 682, Rye, N.Y. 10580.

■ THEY'RE PLAYING OUR SONG: Richard Lemon's *The Troubled American* expands on the *Newsweek*/Gallup discovery that, yes, there's a Silent Majority (Simon & Schuster, $5.95). More of the same: *The Real Majority* by former Census boss Richard M. Scammon and ex-LBJ staffer Ben J. Wattenberg (Coward-McCann, $7.95).

■ FUN AND GAMES: Overproduction continues to plague the football-book field. Chaff excluded, some September titles look interesting. Jerry Kramer collects twenty views of *Lombardi* (World, $6.95). Simon & Schuster updates its big, definitive book on pro football, *The First Fifty Years* ($14.95). Whereas Jack Corrigan and Mike Rathet kick off in August with their AFL biggie, *The Other League* (Follett, $12.95). Paul Zimmerman, ex-pro, offers *A Thinking Man's Guide to Pro Football*, (Dutton, $6.95). One last clothesline from Johnny Sample, now that the ref is no longer watching: *Confessions of a Dirty Ballplayer* (Dial, $6.95). Could this be the birth of a new genre, the kick-and-tell book?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perversity—because that is what, psychologically, we do seek. That long periods of history and large blocks of humanity have rejected hedonism makes no difference to him. He simply psychoanalyzes the objection away: What can be expected of men who have been and are the victims of totalitarian repression?

WHEN I began to read Marcuse fifteen years ago I formed the opinion that in spite of his impenetrable *taki-taki* he was a coherent thinker. Careful study has since convinced me that I was in error. Politically he is clear: he wants to destroy our world. Philosophically he tramples over logic and invents facts to suit his nihilism. Thus, as has been pointed out, he argues by assertion. Take for instance the statement that parental authority has broken down. This is a current commonplace that may be true. But to ground a radical criticism of Freud on it, empirical evidence for it is needed and not an impressionistic cliché.

Or take the introduction, all of a sudden and without a by-your-leave, of the notion of a "right or law higher than positive law." A dialectical materialist has no right whatever to fall back on such a notion. Marcuse was asked at the original lecture what this higher law was based on, for it seemed a romantic relic of natural law or a self-posited right. Marcuse answered that today we no longer call it a natural law; but the question about its basis was not answered. Or take the assertion that our needs for peace and for the beautiful are "biological." If they are, so are the needs for war, for hell-raising, for domination, and judging by whole classes and cultures, for the ugly. Nothing has been proved when the highly problematic "biological" nature of some of our needs is posited assertorically.

But there is more than radical incoherence in Marcuse's thought. Some of his contradictions suggest disingenuousness. For instance, he has said on several occasions that he does not recommend violence. But what is the last of these lectures, "The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition," but a recommendation as well as a justification of violence? And what is the thesis that the duty to resist is based on a higher law but an implicit recommendation to violence? And what is the meaning of the following statement made earlier, but a recommendation to violence: "Liberating tolerance" means intolerance against movements from the Right which "would extend to the stage of action . . . of deed as well as of word." □

Pen and Politics: The Autobiography of a Working Writer
By Holmes Alexander
West Virginia University, 212 pp., $5.00

DEAN OF CONSERVATIVE COLUMNISTS

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW have taken to introducing me up front as "the dean of conservative columnists." Assuming that David Lawrence, a real veteran, is still to be listed as a Wilsonian liberal, I could perhaps qualify as the "dean" in point of age. But the real "dean" of our tribe is Holmes Alexander, who has been writing columns upholding conservative values ever since he came home from service with an Air Force bombardment group in World War II.

"Where's old Holmes?" shouts James Jackson Kilpatrick when he checks in at the newsroom headquarters at any national convention. "Old Holmes" is right where he always is: using shoe leather to get the story behind the story, drawing on his extensive knowledge of American history to confound Yippies, SDSers, Marxists and dove senators, and pursuing a two-decades-old campaign to make the states of the old Confederacy feel at home as part of the Union. Holmes Alexander had a "Southern strategy" ages before anybody else had heard of it. He has been a prophet, dishonored, as prophets usually are, in his home town (it happens to be Baltimore), but honored elsewhere as the man who was fighting the totalitarian liberals in the newsprints when only he, George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler (and David Lawrence on some subjects) were upholding what seemed to be a thoroughly lost cause.

Holmes Alexander writes five columns a week for the McNaught Syndicate, and heaven alone knows when he finds time to write books. Nevertheless, the list of his published book-length works is long. He has told people "how to read the Federalist Papers"; he has written spirited novels and short stories about Washington political life in the Allen Drury vein; he has done a magnificent contrasting study of "the will to win" as illustrated by George Washington (who had the will) and Robert E. Lee (who preferred to be a gentleman even if it led to defeat). Before becoming a columnist he was a first-rate biographer. His *Martin Van Buren: The American Talleyrand* had an original thesis, as implied in its subtitle, and he did one of the better books on Aaron Burr. His novel about the birth pangs of West Virginia's emergence as a state is one of our more noteworthy bits of fictionalized history.

Pen and Politics is intimate autobiography. It can be read as a confessional, as the story of a happy marriage that survived a terrifying bleak period that was caused by parents who meddled without realizing they were meddling. It can be read as fleshed-out genealogy, for Holmes Alexander came from a border state family (Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland roots) and he was compelled from childhood to ponder the social mysteries of blood relations who had divided loyalties. But it is also a parable for the times, for Mr. Alexander's account of his troubles in sustaining true liberal values (under the modern banner of conservatism) is typical.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL details in *Pen and Politics* offer a unique insight into Washington journalism. But Holmes' story is, essentially, the story of John Dos Passos, Eugene Lyons, Frank S. Meyer, Morrie Ryskind, Ralph de Toledano, the late Forrest Davis, the late William Henry Chamberlin, the late Westbrook Pegler, Al Capp and many others who were so appalled by the transformation of American liberalism into something with a viciously totalitarian potential that they had to go out into the wilderness, breaking their ties with old-line publishing houses, the Establishment liberal magazines, and the *gleichgestaltet* American university world. Luckily, the wilderness turned out to be more hospitable than many of us anticipated. Holmes Alexander, cut off from his original literary markets, has found new ones. The great story of our age is that of the conservative counter-culture's success in making a new climate for itself. It now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has the only intellectually respectable movement going in America: the Left, with its Jerry Rubins and its Abbie Hoffmans, talks with a boring Johnny-One-Note yawp that simply won't carry over from the demonstration platform to the printed page.

BECAUSE OF THIS I can't feel particularly sorry for Holmes Alexander when he tells about his mistreatment by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and his hometown Baltimore Sunpapers. True enough, he has been mistreated. But this is the badge of his righteousness, and he should wear it proudly by saying, "Of course." It is not that Holmes Alexander displays any particular rancor over the "averted glance" of the liberal Establishment. I just wish that he had noted that his journalistic oppressors (whether by commission or omission) have become counterproductive anachronisms. (Who can look at a Herblock cartoon these days without feeling that a fathomless stupidity directs an admittedly competent draughtsmanship?) Holmes Alexander is so much better than those who studiously ignore him that he should give his inferiority complex (which he admits) one last kick before killing it forever. □

SCIENCE FICTION

Crime Prevention in the 30th Century
Edited by Hans Stefan Santesson
Walker, 175 pp., $5.95
The Stainless Steel Rat
By Harry Harrison
Walker, 158 pp., $4.95

THE ODD COUPLING OF HUGO AND EDGAR

THEODORE STURGEON

There is an "Oscar" in the detective-mystery field called an "Edgar" (for E. Allen Poe) and one in science fiction called a "Hugo" (for H. Gernsback, who first published American magazine sf). Though neither of the subject volumes is likely to gain either award, they represent an interesting effort to qualify for both.

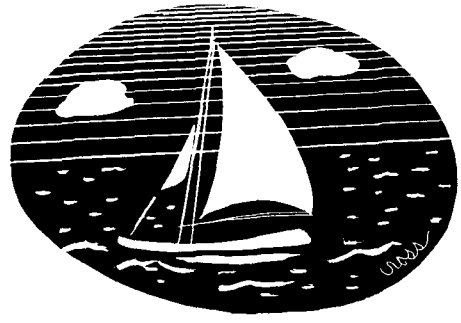
This idea was dear to the heart of the late, much-loved Anthony Boucher, who was a superb critic and author of many a fine tale in both categories, and was for years a mainstay of both the Mystery Writers and the Science Fiction Writers of America. Anthologist-editor Santesson shares the belief that the two genres have a great deal in common and have a right to invade each other's turf. Twenty-odd years ago, in his capacity as editor of the Unicorn Mystery Book Club, he put out sf novels from time to time, and during the eleven years in which he ran *The Saint* Magazine, he often included it.

The two fields do indeed have something in common. The most irritating thing of all to their practitioners is the near-impossibility (especially now that Tony is gone) of their best writing's being taken seriously by serious critics. The fact that nine-tenths of the work in detective/mystery and sf/fantasy is trash is merely an emergence of the fact that nine-tenths of *all* literature is trash; yet rare is the critic who will travel in Edgar country or Hugo Land carrying the same binoculars he uses everywhere else.

THERE IS a clear parallel, too, in the acceptance of rigor. The best of science fiction presents no scientific impossibilities and always attempts some rationale for the improbable. The best of detective fiction tries hard to play fair and to share with the reader the logic of both problem and the solution. The worst, which is the most, of each, shares an above-average situational imagination—or call it ideation—with the most atrocious characterization and dialogue, and must therefore fail as fiction. Fiction—good fiction—is always about people; if it is about ideas, the ideas are reached through people whose acts and speech can be believed, not merely understood. Trash manufacture is at its most efficient when the idea, the plot, the situation comes first and the person follows as its servant.

Mr. Santesson takes as the theme of his anthology that the criminal we shall always have with us; that his methods may change with social and technological evolution, but his motivations remain the same. Present, too, in these stories is that peculiar kink in the criminal mind which blinds it to the fact that crime usually pays poorly for the amount of time, effort and ingenuity that goes into it.

John Brunner, an unusually interesting and competent writer, offers a murder story which is not so much overwritten as over-anecdoted, so that his main story line is diffused and diluted by gadgetry and conflict. At a third the length it would be three times the yarn —and perhaps we could give a damn about whodunit. Miriam Allen deFord, a fine practitioner of the detective story, plays amusingly with the criminal-*v.*-the-law idea, when the laws vary from planet to planet, species to species. Stephen Dentinger and novelist Morris



Hershman present slight little pastiches of their concepts of the future; Harry Harrison has a "howdunit" about an anthropocentric robot; and Edward D. Hoch rather vividly sets up his own strawmen to knock down with his own straw, in a thing about a computer specialist whose job it is to combat criminals who work with, and on, computers. In each of these stories, the characters are subservient to the concept; and in some cases, especially in Hoch's, whose computer cop is a legitimate and provocative extrapolation, it's a real shame.

Of the remaining four stories, William Tenn's deserves special mention for, and only for, its truly delicious description of three pornographic photographs taken by an amoeboid of procreating amoebae—surely one of the funniest passages written by anyone in the past fifty years. Judith Merril simply cannot conceal that she can write well by her effortful whimsy about a protean Martian repeatedly bemusing Earth law-enforcement with blonde hair and a forty-something frontispiece. Only when we come to Anne McCaffrey's "Apple," which deals with a completely reasonable projection of police techniques and mixes them with a wild ESP talent, and Tom Purdon's "Toys," which with a terrifying sense of reality pits a pair of cops against super-spoiled, super-potent seven- and eight-year-olds, do we get to the kind of thing Tony Boucher wanted to see in print—real

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people with real problems cast in both the sf and crime matrices. Very, very good jobs, both of them.

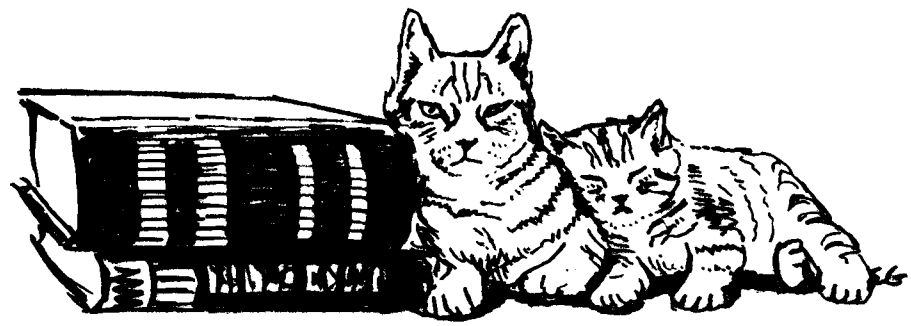
A BAD WRITER, if he writes enough, will come up with a good passage, a memorable character, a remarkable insight. It is a statistical necessity. What then are we to think of a writer who produces a whole book and never does it —not once? It must be purposeful; there is no other way to avoid random virtue. Given that it is his intention, then—why? I think that it is a matter of conscious posture—the conviction that the rules of the game are that he must write-what-happens, avoiding always—even when writing in first person—those deep areas of feeling, or empathy, of reader participation which mark memorable fiction.

There is in *The Stainless Steel Rat* an embarrassment of scenes and situations, adventures, escapes, encounters, gimmicks and gadgets. The book is, I think, archetypical—not so much of most sf, but of the countless volumes of detective/mystery yarns which pencil in their patterns and then let the reader watch the author go over them with his pen. It's all there—the beginning, the middle, the end; you know who's going to win and who will lose. The protagonist (a super-criminal drafted into the ranks of the supersleuths in order to catch another supercriminal, who is of course a chick) is as omnipotent as Mike Hammer, and as bruisable, and as indestructible, so where is suspense? And always, always, Mr. Harrison tells me, he does not show me—which is, perhaps, the ultimate delineation of what is fiction and what is not, in any field. □

Abel
By Louise Bernikow
Introduction by Burton Silverman
Trident, 347 pp., $7.95

WHITEWASHING THE KGB

CHRISTOPHER NICHOLS



He was just plain Emil Goldfus to his artist friends in the Brooklyn studio they all shared, an easy-going, hawk-nosed painter who knew photography too. Not a good painter, really, but he shared a lot of their progressive beliefs and worked methodically at his wooden but earthy style, touched with concern for common folk. Quietly, Emil became part of their lives, joined bull-sessions, chipped in on model fees, attended parties. The girls thought him sort of courtly, sexy even. Emil wandered in and out of his friends' cubicles and they wandered in and out of his. "There were no secrets," writes Louise Bernikow. Well, there was at least one. But when they read in the newspapers that "Emil" was actually Red spy Col. Rudolph Ivanovich Abel, they just couldn't believe it. It seems that now, deep down, some still can't. Emil was their friend.

At Abel's trial, the prosecution asks artist Burt Silverman, who helped Miss Bernikow write the book, about the spy's reputation for honesty. "Beyond reproach," Silverman replies. The judge leans down and remarks: "And this had to do with a man named Goldfus?" One must keep the judge's perspective in mind as one reads this not badly written effort to humanize the man tagged as the USSR's top spy in the U.S., and to get his hoodwinked cronies off the hook. ". . . it made no sense to Silverman," writes Miss Bernikow. "Reality had been Emil Goldfus." And Silverman himself says that Abel-Emil was "a brilliant invention of himself . . . He was not an ideologue." In fact, he "added up to an extremely likable guy, no matter what side you were on."

Besides efforts to humanize Abel, Miss Bernikow takes great pain to suggest that he might have been merely small fry, not the *capo* of Russia's American operation at all. He was implicated with the Krogers, the Sobells (his assistant, Reino Hayhanen, testified that Helen Sobell was a paid agent of the Soviets). He was caught with an improbable amount of incriminating evidence with him. From one of his message "drops" in Brooklyn's Prospect Park (a hole which park workers had filled with concrete while an uncollected message lay inside) the FBI pried out a communiqué typed on Abel's typewriter, which Silverman discovered after Abel's arrest but dismissed as "innocuous."

The refrain of "the inefficiency of the Russian intelligence service" (never "spy network") is sounded with Wagnerian consistency. Our tendency to overrate the Red spy operation is rooted in "the conspiratorial mentality and the propagandistic belief that the intelligence services of the Soviets operate efficiently," she writes. At one absurd point, referring to a dialogue from Le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, she suggests: "Perhaps Rudolph Abel was assigned to the U.S. . . . all for the purpose of finding out about pins or paper clips. That is what white espionage is all about."

THE carefully planted notion that Abel was doing what hundreds of cultural exchangees are doing—white espionage—is somewhat compromised when Miss Bernikow writes: "From the day of his capture, Abel had considered a trade and rejected the idea because the Russians, he said, had no one of equal value." Predictably, the authors deplore the fine legal points seemingly disregarded by the government in prosecuting Abel. Arrested technically as merely an illegal entrant to the United States, Abel figured he might get away simply being deported. The authors apparently think it a legal shame that he didn't.

But here is the source of their deepest ire, quintessentially orchestrated with appropriate coloring: "Abel's story allowed the whole business of Communist-in-our-midst to sputter across the country again. Everyone was happy in those days, for it had been proven that there really were spies and subversives under every mattress. Anti-Communism, vindicated, with a clean bill of health: We were not paranoid. The menace was real." Exactly. The "story"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was true. And it still seems to be providing a source of torment to those for whom it didn't make sense, to whom reality was Emil Goldfus. Brooklyn hath no fury. . . . □

THEATER

THE 1969-70 SEASON

RICHMOND CRINKLEY

The 1969-70 season gave little pleasure, provoked little thought, made little money, and proved there's one born every minute. Some of the new plays had been waiting in the wings for three or four years, and when they finally got into production, they had a distinctly *déjà vu* aura. The revivals—*Harvey*, for instance—gave a pretty good picture of some of the theater of the Twenties or Thirties, but the picture wasn't as pleasing as we had hoped. The experimental work was a mixed bag—*Stomp*, *The Persians*, a revival of *The Serpent*, *Macbeth*—with each work trying to suggest that the true spirit of innovation lay with it and nowhere else.

In short, the season past proved that there is nothing new under the lights. Not that there should be, since every new technique has been tried by an experimental company in Sarajevo and every new theme already treated at a small college in Vermont. But there is in the American theater in mid-1970 no sense of consolidation, no will to assimilate.

The Sixties as the decade in which the playwright declined abruptly and seemed for a moment like going out of business have given a host of useful techniques to an art form that needed creative infusion: slides, electronic music, new kinds of acting spaces and seating arrangements, changed times of performance and changed lengths of time an audience would stay put to watch a performance, lighting changes brought from the dance world. The list is endless.

But the Seventies are being born without a strong sense of how to use what the Sixties have discovered. Of the active playwrights, Albee seems too responsive to changes in techniques of staging and everyone else too unresponsive. A playwright who is as yet little produced in the United States, but who may well prove one of the most exciting dramatic finds of the early Seventies, Romulus Linney, has brought together in his play *The Sorrows of Frederick* (about to be produced in London and New York) a number of techniques that were only in the developmental stage ten years ago. But Linney is an exception, and to some extent the playwright is a copout. He writes with an intentional sense of incoherence. Sam Shepard is a good example. A fine talent, but he should perhaps leave the confusion to be put in by others.

FORMLESSNESS is fine in theater if it has form. And we have spent three years with rock musicals that have had exciting staging and exciting music, but dismal books. The winner in the rock-musical sweepstakes will be the work that adds some kind of narrative thread to the energy and enthusiasm that carries shows with less than everything to offer. Thematically arranged rock and folk recordings give some hope for a similar development in rock-musical theater.

The kind of focus that is missing in rock musicals may well be found in the classical theater, in the texts that have brought Western civilization the

focal point of its theatrical activity for 25 centuries. In spite of the deficiencies of the recent production of *The Persians*, for example, it is arguable that the most exciting experimental theater bases itself upon some central part of the dramatic tradition, whether it be text, plot or myth.

For the playwright and the director, a return to the wellspring of dramatic literature—Euripides, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Strindberg—promises the best hope for a renewal of effective theatrical creativity that the Seventies so desperately needs. The theater as a mirror of the times is now a place of confusion and disillusionment. It is in a return to patterns that are only barely perceived, but nonetheless fundamental to the Western psyche, that our theater will find renewal. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE *(Collier Books and Macmillian, paper 95¢, hardbound $3.50)*. Starting with diverse viewpoints, the fifteen members of this Commission ended in *unanimous* agreement "that the nation's interests will be better served by an all-volunteer force." Congress will be a harder nut to crack and convince, but the reasons for that are political, not rational. The Commission's *Report* presents an impressive array of arguments buttressed by statistics and projections, demonstrating the military, economic and social desirability of an all-volunteer force. And the main thing needed to make the transition is a raise in pay and benefits for military personnel in their first two years of service—a reform which should be enacted on the basis of equity alone, whatever your views about the draft. The added budgetary cost would be $2.7 billion in fiscal 1971, but, as the Commission points out, the actual costs of maintaining an armed force would be lower (our present system contains all sorts of hidden costs). The *Report* deals extensively and persuasively with nine of the principal objections to an all-volunteer force, and explores military personnel requirements, officer procurement and retention, recruitment, conscription of physicians, reserves, a standby draft for protracted major wars, historical considerations, and recent foreign experience with voluntarism. Throughout, one suspects the illuminating influence of Commission members such as Milton Friedman, Alan Greenspan and former Congressman Tom Curtis, and researchers such as Dr. Walter Y. Oi and Burton Gray—names which will be familiar to most NATIONAL REVIEW readers and/or Philadelphia Society members. D. FRANKE

RENAISSANCE ESSAYS, *edited by Paul O. Kristeller and Philip P. Wiener (Harper Torchbooks, $2.45)*. Professor Kristeller and Mr. Wiener have collected some of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*' most important essays on the Renaissance, essays that have been exceedingly difficult to obtain over the years despite their importance: the late Ernst Cassirer's brilliant study of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, which remains one of the classic works on that difficult Renaissance Platonist; John Herman Randall's seminal essay on scientific method at the school of Padua; Hans Baron's study of the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. Besides these classic essays, there are illuminating pieces by Eugene Rice on Erasmus, Hanna Gray on eloquence, and Wallace K. Ferguson on the historiographical problem of the Renaissance. P. P. WITONSKI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

your personal embosser for 15.95

With its smooth good looks, the Brady Hand Embosser has the heft and "feel" of expensive units. That's because it was designed for heavy-duty industrial use—all functional parts are made of lightweight metal. It'll last a lifetime.

You can make your own nameplates, identification stickers, labels, any message you choose. Its action is smooth and easy, spacing even and automatic. All 44 letters, numbers and symbols emboss clearly in white on glossy, pressure-sensitive tape. Your choice of 11 tape colors and two widths, 3/8" or 1/2".

Perhaps the best thing about the Brady Embosser is its price: 15.95. One embossing wheel is included in the price of the gun. If you want to emboss both sizes of tape,order the extra embossing wheel. Embossing wheel and tape sizes must be identical. Just fill out the coupon below, enclose a check or money order and it's yours. Makes a great gift, too.

PLEASE SEND ME_____ Brady Embosser(s) and the tapes listed below. 3/8"____ 1/2"____ I enclose $_____

Name_____

Address_____

City, State_____

TAPE COLOR
If ordering two tape sizes, enter sizes and number.

☐ black ☐ blue ☐ red ☐ green ☐ yellow ☐ gold ☐ orange ☐ clear ☐ brown ☐ gray ☐ purple

Total No. rolls_____

SIZE(S)
Rolls are 12' long
☐ 3/8" 1.25 ea.
☐ 1/2" 1.65 ea.

EXTRA WHEEL, 2.00
☐ Yes ☐ No

NOTE: Do not order both sizes of tape unless you order the extra wheel.

AD NO. 26087

W. H. BRADY CO.
EST. 1914

719 West Glendale Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Tape Products,Identification and Labeling Systems, Self Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape.

719

BAKSHIAN

(Continued from page 735)

ered themselves somewhat, they forced open the cells (someone had already sent the keys off as trophies). The yield was something less than impressive: no heroes, no martyrs; just four embezzlers, two madmen and the young Comte de Solange, confined at the request of his own father for "dissipated conduct"!

But, already, the myth had outpaced reality.

"At this meeting place," Chateaubriand wrote in after years, "could be seen the most famous orators, the best-known men of letters, the most celebrated painters, the most renowned actors and actresses, the most popular dancers, the most illustrious foreigners, the grandees of the court and the ambassadors of Europe: Old France had come here to finish, new France to begin."

Sounds a bit like some very "in" New York benefit for the Black Panthers. "*Plus ça change . . .*"

For the most part, Frenchmen were enthusiastic about the events of the Fourteenth. Ballads, dramas and penny prints commemorating the heroic deed abounded; all those who participated in it were granted (shades of the welfare state) a guaranteed pension for life; and a few enterprising craftsmen began carving small souvenir Bastilles out of the citadel's stones.

Fashionable thinkers around the world rejoiced that France, like America and Britain, was clearly going to imbibe moderate, constitutional principles. Nobody gave much thought to those "bandits of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine" who had so enjoyed their first taste of blood.

Parisians congratulated themselves and danced in the streets. Only a handful of men like Edmund Burke thought it best to suspend "congratulations on the new liberty of France, until . . . informed how it had been combined with government; with public force; with the discipline and obedience of armies; with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue; with morality and religion; with the solidity of property; with peace and order; with civil and social manners. All these things (in their way) are good things too and, without them, liberty is not a benefit whilst it lasts, and is not likely to continue long."

They will be dancing in the streets again this July 14 in Paris, and I, for one, will be grateful for the reminder. ☐

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

(Continued from page 711)

Jazz Time

Now that rock music has been extolled, why not devote some space to jazz for those of us in the under-thirty crowd who like our music dynamically varied, melodically and lyrically accessible, only moderately deafening, unself-consciously swinging and genetically pure, or rather, less amalgamated? Jazz, after all, celebrates freedom, and because it is a more exacting art than rock music, its validity an art and serious music is worthy of serious criticism. It seems that a place exists in *NR* for such criticism and for exposition of the joys of jazz listening and playing. How about equal time for jazz?

Cary, N.C. OWEN CORDLE

Sense and Sensibility

Last night, I finished reading "Decision or Drift" ["The Week," June 16] and thought it the most sensible and logical writing on the Mideast in some time. This morning I was brought to my senses by the fact that things are just not logical in that part of the world.

Mr. Gerard Loughran, writing for UPI, told of his captivity by Arab guerrillas in an Amman hotel. The guerrillas stated quite convincingly that they intended to destroy several hotels and kill the Western hostages in them unless their demands were met. This incident should remind all of us that one issue in the Arab-Israeli struggle is whether a small enclave of civilization can survive midst the barbarism from which many Arabs are not even one step removed.

Homestead, Fla. DONALD A. LINK

I find quite a few inconsistencies pertaining to your editorial views on Israel and on Vietnam. First of all, it seems ludicrous to say to an Israeli, facing the open barrel of a Russian-made gun that the "pro-Western" Arabs rushed into Russia's arms because the U.S. wouldn't help them. You can say the same thing to an American in Vietnam, facing a Vietcong guerrilla armed with a Russian-made gun, and make just as much sense.

And then you offer a solution in the UN. That's a chuckle. In reading *NR* for four years I don't remember you showing any great love or respect for that organization. One of those proposals advocates giving the Arabs back all their land. Also, likening Israel to Vietnam, what are we in Cambodia for? Our own self-defense, right?

And my final point: Whatever happened to the sane, and good policy of letting—nay—advocating conflicting countries to settle their own problems face-to-face? (Paris peace talks?) Does that not seem like a better policy to strive for, instead of inflicting our will on a country—*again*—and getting in trouble *again*.

Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. MRS. FRED D. BLONDER

People and Population

I cannot resist attempting to fatten Garry Wills' own thin truth. Population is not the problem, but rather its density. Indeed, density itself does not give rise to the psychological irritation so emphasized by Mr. Wills. The most important factor by far is the activity of the population.

In support of the above assertions, consider countries like China and India. From antiquity until very recent times they have had large populations, but, because of both low density and activity, exhibited little psychological crowding. (I am not unmindful of their poverty; it is not relevant to this argument.)

To improve the situation one can eliminate people, spread them out or reduce their activity. A Christian would have no difficulty establishing priorities among these alternatives and they would reflect the only true solution to the problem, in so far as it has one.

It seems reasonable to take the GNP as a measure of the aggregate activity of the population, especially as it relates to pollution or psychological crowding. The long-term rate of increase of the real GNP has been on the order of 3 to 4 per cent per year, while the population increase has been on the order of 1.5 to 2 per cent. If the population were to remain static, one would still expect a 1 to 2 per cent increase in the GNP.

Now, to paraphrase Malthus, any non-zero population which permits its GNP to grow geometrically for an indefinite time will find itself up to its eyeballs in aluminum beer cans.

Staatsburg, N.Y. ROBERT M. TOMASULO

Wills doesn't even do a good job of disguising his feeling that overpopulation is a threat primarily because it engenders a criminal attack on "the vast innocent population to be defended (in their persons and property)" from persons in "our vast hives" (that's cities). There are "too many people with nothing useful to do," Wills tells us, and the central problem will be the mobilization of "policemen, of vehicles, of communication equipment . . . to counter the criminal threat."

Of course we won't have to endure these problems if we act on the thrust of Dr. Wills' argument, viz. that we deal with the populations of these "vast hives" before these people have a chance to be born. Abort'em. Prevent'em. His intent is clearly in line with that of the leadership in this country and its penchant for coercively waging the battle against "people pollution."

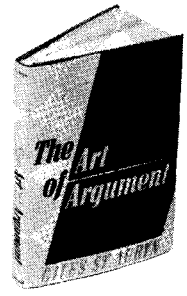
Washington, D.C. BRADLEY WARREN EVANS

Garry Wills' technique in attacking Colin Clark and his book (as "pernicious") rather upsets me. In order to refute Dr. Clark and to affirm his own assertion that the earth is *at present* overpopulated and that it is desirable to limit population *now*, he grips us by the hand and "marches us quick-time to his objective," which is his overweening concern about urban crowding and its attendant problems (demontrable mostly in megalopolises such as New York and Los Angeles). Furthermore, Mr. Wills is guilty of the fallacy of hasty generalization (a frequent fault of population-crisis partisans), when he applies these very local and isolated problems to the entire surface of the planet. (I've found that most population-planners are often beset and besotted by such a very provincial outlook on this whole subject.)

I would agree with Mr. Wills that the "whole truth is rare. Most views are more or less inclusive thin truths. . . ." I would ask him to follow his own advice: "Draw back a little and reflect" on the "thin truths" in his own evaluation, not only of Dr. Clark, but also of this whole issue of the alleged population crisis.

Lynwood, Calif. JAMES H. FORD M.D.

How to Argue and Win!



Here is a clear simply written basic guide to logical thinking, showing how to spot the fallacies, the prejudices and emotionalism, the inappropriate analogies, etc., in the other fellow's argument and how to watch for and avoid the irrational in your own judgments. The author makes plain not only *how* but also *why* people resist facing the truth.

A tool for *clear thinking* as well as for *convincing others.* ORDER NOW:
THE ART OF ARGUMENT
By Giles St. Aubyn
$4.95, plus 25¢ handling. 10-Day Money Back Guar.
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 726-S
251 West 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

Unaccepted Exception

Academia hath no fury like an historian challenged. Mrs. Kathleen Cowen (Letters, June 30) confuses Puritan with puritan, and puritan with neo-puritan as well. As Professor Demos writes in his book, the Plymouth Pigrims "belonged, of course, to the larger movement called Puritanism." There's never been a dispute about that, until Mrs. Cowen. And if by "puritan" with a small p, Mrs. Cowen is thinking of Menckens definition—"puritanism is the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy"—then as Perry Miller and others showed, the Plymouth colonists certainly were not puritans. It is our incorrect notion of what the *Victorians* were like that gave rise to the charge that *they* were puritans, or more correctly, neo-puritans. It's all very confusing; but I'll stake my membership in the AAUP on my accurate description of Plymouth as a Puritan colony. Be at peace, erring sister Kath; I mean no slur on your ancestors. Now *mine*, on the other hand. . . .

Boston, Mass. DAVID BRUDNOY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Dear Diary

Los Angeles, June 18—Dear Diary: Yesterday, I delivered the commencement address at a very large university in California, and it was something, let me tell you. The campus has a reputation of being pretty calm, I mean compared to some of the others. But they had a lot of excitement just the same this year, and halfway through the winter, the Chancellor had to cancel the black studies program after threats had been made against the administrator of it. And then the morning of the commencement, authorities confiscated five hundred copies of the student paper, because it had in it a reproduction of a dirty picture that had appeared in another California college paper, which got the Regents into an uproar, saying they weren't going to appropriate any more money for student pornography, the students would have to pay for their own. Free love yes, free smut no, I guess you'd call it.

Anyway, when I got to the Chancellor's (he is a very nice man, and doesn't give in to the kids when they are wrong, which is very often nowadays, I take it), he told me he wanted me to see a couple of things before the show went on. The first was a widely distributed letter from a student called "Jim" addressed to "Dear Mom and Dad," protesting various things the Chancellor had done. One paragraph that, naturally, caught my eye, said "William Buckley is going to speak. We asked the Chancellor for permission to let some of our people speak too. He refused. So we have to find [Dear Diary, *you* know that *I* know that the right word here is 'alternative'] means of expressing our sense of outrage at the invitation to Buckley and the hatred he sells. So we're going to present . . . actions which in themselves are statements against the glib assurance and barely repressed hatred which Mr. Buckley represents."

Then the Chancellor showed me a prepared statement he was going to read at the outset of the ceremonies, about how he had thought of telephoning me a few days ago when he heard there was going to be trouble, asking me whether under the circumstances I would like to change my mind about going, but he decided not to, because to do so would be to admit that his university "no longer had the maturity of a university."

So the program began, three or four thousand people there, and we got through the "Star Spangled Banner" all right, that was a relief—at UCLA, when the Chancellor was inaugurated a while back, he canceled the national anthem because he said it would be provocative. Then the Chancellor read his statement, and you could see that the troublemakers were maybe 5, 10 per cent. Then he introduced the president of the student body, a black student who spoke for a very long time, but not loud enough so that the people sitting behind him could hear much of what he said, only we got the drift, things like this was an oppressive community, the Chancellor was very arbitrary, and so on.

AND THEN he said that a few of the students had a presentation to make to Mr. Buckley, and a couple of kids came up on the platform with a largish cardboard box, which obviously had in it something live, because it quivered on the way up, and sure enough it was a little pig. The girl offered me the leash, but I let it slip through my fingers, and the pig went off toward the podium, where the Chancellor was by this time reading the accomplishments of a young man who was standing up there to get his scholarship. But at that moment the pig began to urinate right by the Chancellor, and nobody paid any attention to the student who had worked very hard for a couple of years to distinguish himself—how is that relevant in a modern university? Then my turn came, and I spoke uninterruptedly, if you don't count a dozen students filing out and one smoke bomb that sort of fizzled off in the wrong direction. Then the degrees were given. Everyone who came up was dressed in cap and gown. Except one girl, getting her Masters, who was dressed in a bikini. She was short, and weighed about 175 pounds, I guess, and I remember thinking, well, no one is exploiting *her.* And one guy, dressed in red undershorts and garters, carrying a banana pie which he presented to the Chancellor and a small American flag, which he later burned, thus contributing to air pollution. The Chancellor was awfully pleased about it all—after all, nobody had been hurt, the speaker hadn't been booed or shouted down in fact he got a standing ovation, there were no obscenities shouted into the mike. As we arrived at the disrobing room, the student body president approached me, stuck out his hand, and said he wanted to apologize about the pig, but that was the only part of his speech he wanted to apologize for. I said unfortunately (obviously under the circumstances I should have said fortunately) the pig-part was the only part of his speech I had been able to make out. I left wondering why he should now be apologizing for something he had done only one hour earlier? It's funny that even an Iron Chancellor and all his men don't really have the power to make a small minority behave, in the modern university, but the small minority has the power to make others misbehave. Anyway, Dear Diary, there's a lot of us ought to do some thinking about commencement addresses, though as you know, this is the first time I've had any trouble, and I've given a dozen in the last couple of years. You get to wondering though, whether, in the old phrase, you're playing horse to other people's Lady Godiva. □

ANGELA DAVIS AND THE REGENTS

New York, June 24—Concerning the tangled case of Angela Davis, the young black Communist who has been denied reappointment to the Department of Philosophy at the University of California in Los Angeles, a few observations:

1) Is it the business of the Regents to reach into the bosom of one of the state universities and override a local decision reached by the faculty and the Chancellor to reappoint Miss Davis? Another way of putting the question is, what *is* the business of the Regents? The law is very clear on the matter. The Regents' business is to set policy for the University of California system. Now the policy the Regents have traditionally set leaves it to the faculty to decide questions of academic merit. But what the Regents have traditionally done is not justification for failing to use the Regents' dormant powers in time of academic emergency. That these are parlous times in the universities would not be denied by anyone, least of all Angela Davis, who glories in the general convulsions, understanding them to be a waystation to revolution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2) Although a lower court in California has ruled that mere membership in the Communist Party is insufficient cause for denying anyone a position on the faculty of a state institution, in fact the court's ruling is being appealed, and there is no presumptive reason to suppose that the court knows more about the theoretical questions involved than professional scholars who have given their attention to it. For instance, Professor Sidney Hook of New York, a lifelong champion of academic freedom, and himself a socialist, examined the question at articulate length in his book, *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No,* in which he concluded that membership in the Communist Party is sufficient ground for disqualification of any individual from a college faculty. Those who argue that times have changed, that the Communist Party is not as exacting as it used to be, have an interesting point, though they should try it out on the Communist Party of California rather than on the Regents, and in behalf of Dorothy Healy, not Angela Davis. Miss Healy is the Communist functionary who was discharged from the Party because she criticized the USSR's most recent invasion of Czechoslovakia.

3) It is being too widely accepted that Angela Davis has otherwise than her membership in the Communist Party an exemplary record and was clearly entitled to reappointment. It isn't so. Miss Davis doesn't even have her doctorate. In fact she admits to being late in producing it, and admits moverover that her lateness is the result of political pressures. The faculty committee that looked into her case, although favorable to her as a teacher, conceded a "concern" with the "proposal for giving [her] appointment an unwarranted priority in the face of other . . . more pressing faculty staffing needs."

4) Miss Davis is a quite rabid revolutionary whose disdain for decorum is among the revolutionary paraphernalia. Decorum doesn't consist of limiting your conversation to the weather when addressing the Queen of England. It is the kind of thing James Rowland Angell was talking about when as President of Yale University he wrote that "if university men are to claim freedom of teaching and freedom of thought and speech, they must in turn justify the claim not only by a decent respect for the opinions of mankind but also by sobriety of utterance on acutely controversial issues. They must be sensitive to the dictates of good sense and good taste." Professor Davis in a public speech, on the Regents' role in the People's Park controversy: "They killed, they brutalized, they murdered human beings." Professor Davis on the decision at the University of California in Santa Barbara to dismiss a sociologist. "He was fired because he's anti-imperialist, because he's anti-racist, because he refuses to go along with what those senile people in anthropology do. . . ." Professor Davis on what to do to correct existing inequities. ". . . That's what we have to start talking about, a general strike, demonstrative actions which will show pig forces what we can do. We should call . . . things by their name. When people start saying that we ought to subvert, that we are subversive, we should say, Hell yes, we are subversive. Hell yes, and we're going to continue to be subversive until we have subverted this whole goddamned system of oppression."

5) Surprised? You shouldn't be. "I think education itself is inherently political," Miss Davis has said. The faculty and administration that voted to keep her on were certainly engaged in politics. Their own committee acknowledged that to give her appointment first priority was a distortion. What that gang wants is a fight with the Regents. Well, they have got their fight. Should the Regents win it? Hell yes. □

THE NEW YORK ELECTION

New York, June 26—The trend-watchers were a little gloomy, the morning after the primary: because there wasn't anything really trendy in the results. Herewith a few observations, personal and otherwise.

1) The umbilical cord to John F. Kennedy is wearing thin indeed, and outside of Massachusetts, is absolutely incapable of nourishing a candidate who would be moribund without it. The extraordinary humiliation of Theodore Sorensen is a case in point. Sorensen was literally the closest professional associate of John Kennedy. He wrote two books, the second of which achieved the singular distinction of being worse than the first. He never let any audience forget that he was Kennedy's confidant and speechwriter. And when the voters declared themselves, notwithstanding that Sorensen was the official choice of the Democratic Party, he came in a very poor third: as if the Kennedy marchers resented a) the rather ghoulish emphasis he put on his association with Kennedy, and b) his quite obvious assumption that the association would carry the election. (By the way, he gave a genuinely moving concession speech.)

On the other hand, there was Adam Walinsky. Mr. Walinsky was the principal aide of Robert Kennedy. He talks like Kennedy until I'm tempted to turn off the sound and tune in to the Spanish-speaking channel, where one hears through a translator what he says, but is spared that macabre imitation of Robert's inflections and vocal mannerisms. Walinsky won handily, and is an attractive candidate, driven by whatever are those esoteric furies that drive the not-quite-New Left but almost. However, his opposition was not much, and his opposition coming up is the formidable and likable incumbent Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz, so don't count Walinsky in, or out.

2) Adam Clayton Powell. He lost. The automatons woke up in the morning, learned that he had lost, and their lips instantly came together to pronounce "Racism!" until the sobering fact occurred to them that Mr. Powell's constituency is about 99.9 per cent Negro. When the House of Representatives said, in effect, about the same thing about Powell that his constituency now said, they were all accused of racism.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER is that old Adam has been for years the most singular effrontery on practical democracy in possibly the entire world. Somehow, I confess, we will miss him; and certainly he was a pleasant contrast to the new breed of demagogues and racists. One had the feeling about Powell that he never cared, really, so long as he was given a great big helping of perks. But Harlem tired of him, even as Powell seemed finally to have reached the last limits of hedonism, and all of life began to cloy.

3) Money. The only thing that Paul O'Dwyer and Theodore Sorensen found that they could talk about, in criticizing Richard Ottinger, is how much money Ottinger was spending on his campaign. There were those, for instance myself, who found the criticisms extraordinarily unimpressive, however much we would like to see strict laws, like England's, governing the amount of money a candidate can spend (but I mean strict, like including a ban on putting campaign workers on union payrolls). I do not remember Mr. Sorensen, who was then writing and working for John F. Kennedy, confiding to anyone that he was sympathetic to Hubert Humphrey's criticisms that the Kennedys were outspending him eight, ten to one in the primaries in Wisconsin and West Virginia.

What their complaint reduces to is simply that Ottinger's family has more money than either Sorensen or O'Dwyer. The argument against the expenditure of lots of money on campaigns is only interesting when it is genuinely principled. Bobby Kennedy's mother, answering a criticism of the lavish sums being spent on her son's behalf in the spring of 1968, answered "Well, it's our money, isn't it?" Bobby asked his mother please not to say things like that, but she had made the obvious point, surely: and, clearly, the voters in New York State didn't care. If they are against big-time money spenders, they would not be living in the state that has four times voted for Nelson Rockefeller as governor. □

(Washington Star Syndicate. Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You—Latest Australian Opportunities Handbook describing Government assisted passage, living allowances, employment, business, farming, teaching, hunting, fishing-plus application forms and Employer's list $1.00. Buckeye, Box1032SS, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

OVERSEAS JOBS. High Pay, Travel, Adventure. Director of Over 100 American Firms Now Hiring for Overseas Projects. $1.00. TRANSWORLD, Box 90802-CC, International Airport, Los Angeles, Calif. 90009.

CHRISTMAS CARDS—Business and Personal Customer's name imprinted. Beat inflation—earn unusually high commissions from this medium—and high-priced line. No investment. No inventory. Free Sample Album. Process Corp. (our 49th year), 3436 S. 54th Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60650.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. 50,000 jobs. 1970 government information and forms $1.00. Special reports on employment, business, taxes, housing, education, ranching, farming, teaching, maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-CC, Long Beach, Calif. 90803.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-A, Belmont, Calif. 94002.

Investments

INVESTING? For professional, courteous service and trouble-free brokerage facilities, write or phone Leon Weil, Steiner Rouse & Co., 19 Rector St., N.Y., N.Y. 10006. 212-422-0700. Members of the New York Stock Exchange.

Literary

POEMS WANTED FOR QUARTERLY PUBLICATION.—Poetry Pageant, Box 3677-DNR, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Real Estate

FOR SALE—One of the finest examples of Georgian architecture in York County at Parsonsfield, Maine (New Hampshire border—White Mountain Region). 1817 Georgian House on 145 acre accredited tree farm. Excellent condition. Twelve square rooms. Nine working fireplaces. Five master bedrooms. Two modern bath rooms, one lavatory and extra shower. Fine antique features perfectly preserved by descendants of original prosperous owner. Farm in same family since 1779. $65,000. Brochure.
Sale separately—70 additional acres tree farm with 3500 ft. frontage on opposite sides unpolluted river 2 miles distant. $800 per acre. Owner: P.O. Box 331, Kezar Falls, Maine 04047.

PRIME VIEW OF GRANT TETONS and the Jackson Hole Valley, 160 acres priced much below current sales. Qualified buyers shown upon request. Russell-Massey-Agency, Morton, Wyo. 82522. Tel. (307) 856-6262 or (307) 455-2492.

Travel—Vacations

MIDDLE EAST 5-country survey tour featuring HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BRIEFINGS by official Arab and Israeli representatives. 3-weeks $1095, from New York, including air, deluxe accommodations, transfers, special sightseeing. Departures Sept. 8, Oct. 6, Nov. 3. For itinerary and full details, contact: CONTEMPORARY TOURS, MANHASSET, N.Y. 11030, (516) 627-1440.

LUQUILLO, PUERTO RICO—Two bedroom, beachfront condominium, sleeps 5. 25 minutes to famous El Conquistador, golf, casinos, night-life, 25 minutes to ferry to St. Thomas (2 hrs.), 15 minutes to Rain Forest and Berwin Country Club, $175 weekly to December 1; December 1 to May 1, 1971, $250 weekly. Owner, Box 911, Port Washington, N.Y. 11050.

Self-Improvement

CONFIDENCE AND POWER in dealing with people can return handsome dividends. How to create good first impressions. 164 Page book tells how to get people to say "yes" to you. How to get what you want in business and social life. Control the attitudes of others. Book #WB-101. $2.00.
IMPROVE YOUR PERSONALITY! Fascinating 110 page book reveals the technique of using your subconscious mind to 'make a new personality' for yourself! Be one of the lively ones. Begin to live! Read how in book #WB-113. $1.00.
THINK BIG! Skyrocket your income and gain financial security, prestige and power. Learn the secrets that make men rich. "The Magic of Thinking Big" is a 'must' for anyone who wants to get ahead. 256 Pages of inside facts, case histories and the secrets of riches. Book #WB-123, only $2.00.
HOW YOU CAN STOP SMOKING. No fads or gimmicks! This book presents a step-by-step method that is medically and psychologically sound. The smoking habit is in the mind—which must be conditioned against smoking. Will you be another cancer statistic? Make up your mind now! This 96 page book may save your life! #WB-106, only $1.00.
Wester Bie Enterprises 4D, 1749 Grand Conc., Bronx, N.Y. 10453.

Personal

RELAX! Always tense and on edge? Nervous and irritable? Dr. Gutwirth's 114 page book, "You Can Learn to Relax", reveals how to avoid stress and attain complete relaxation in a short time! Book #WB-119, only $1.00.
HOW TO UNDERSTAND YOUR DREAMS. Fascinating 110 page book analyzes apparently innocent dreams and reveals their inner meanings. You'll be amazed at your own dreams and their mysterious meanings. Book #WB-103, $2.00.
HANDWRITING reveals hidden character and personality traits! Medical studies now being made to detect cancer by handwriting! This 208 page course shows step-by-step methods how "YOU Can Analyze Handwriting". A fascinating book for parties! Book #WB-105, only $2.00.
Wester Bie Enterprises 4D, 1749 Grand Conc., Bronx, N.Y. 10453.

Miscellaneous

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (Computerized Matching)—All Ages "Let TEAM Make You a Team." Write TEAM Project, 1270 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10001.

WORLD'S LARGEST CROSSWORD PUZZLE! First edition . . . giant card-table size . . . over 4,000 squares! Unique gift! Only $1.00 postpaid. BRAINY, Box 213-C, Chatsworth, Calif. 91311.

COMPUTERS/PERIPHERALS bought and sold. CAC sells second and third generation computers and punched card equipment—all under manufacturer's maintenance. CAC also pays cash for used equipment. Try our brokerage listing network, too. Computer Acquisitions Company, P.O. Box 29185, Atlanta, Ga. 30329, (404) 458-4425.

I.Q. TEST. Self-score. $1.00. Psychological Tests, Box 1343, Portland, Ore.

CONSERVATIVE? You can even be flamboyant! Save time, money on any decorating problem. Ben Rapaport, A.I.D. Write Box 249, Sea Cliff, N.Y. 11579.

SINGLE?—PHOTOS OF DATES enable you to pre-view and select from 4-10 ideal mates! Saves time, expense, and disappointments of blind dates! Advanced matching systems assure compatibility! All ages. Entire U.S. Write for information and FREE questionnaire: YALE PHOTO-DATING® SERVICE, INC., P. O. Box 509, Dept. H, N.Y., N.Y. 10028.

WRY IDEAS—CATALOGUE, 25¢ (deductible). Wry Ideas, Box 178-R, Rye, N.Y. 10580.

PENTAGON™—The Marble Game of the 70's™. This game in the shape of a Pentagon is played by two people with 5 marbles each over a course of 5 concentric Pentagons. Game requires the thought of Chess with the capturing moves of checkers. 9" solid hardwood board. $6 postpaid. Gameophiles Unlimited, Inc., P.O. Box 34, Berkeley Heights, N.J. 07922.

TO BUY: operational German luger automatic (MUST be WWII vintage) for gun collection. Send offers to NR Box 1284.

SEND DIME for price list American Heritage, Horizon, American West magazines. James Helbert, 1953 Warriors Rd., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15205.

UNITY OF DELRAY BEACH Elementary School. Wee Wisdom Montessori Pre-School. Established 1964. Pre-School through Fifth Grade. 101 N.W. 22nd Street, Delray Beach, Fla. (305) 276-4414.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.20 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

Ted Williams:
My Turn at Bat

I am . . . back into baseball as the manager of the Senators . . . I don't know where this new course will take me. . . . Managing is essentially a loser's job; managers are about the most expendable pieces of furniture on earth. Try to keep count of how many get fired every year and you'll get dizzy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

A. A type of stand — 2 86 171 225 47 199 201 157

B. Unscramble I TRY MY HITCH — 36 51 72 108 120 194 222 96 130 149 175

C. A show that an unmute Milton might put on — 57 185 174 64 151 26 3 14 156

D. Be not forgetful to _____ strangers (*Hebrews* 13:2) — 71 162 7 216 187 40 52 132 198

E. A town in Washington (followed by *City*); an establishment in Washington, D. C. — 139 11 172 183 203 74 196 90

F. What party loyalty ought to be — 100 165 169 195 205 213 6 31 93 107 121 127

G. An ecclesiastical day to be observed with full ceremonial — 109 16 23 32 37 44 60 113 122 141 209 226

H. This is harder to get out than *National Review* — 118 144 133 191 66 69 221 177

I. What you pay if you live in Fun City — 88 68 4 91 35 98 19 46 75 17 79 50

J. OH DIRTY MOORE! Explain the Vietnam War — 168 9 87 95 111 114 131 153 159 197 25 65

K. Where midgets might perform — 164 8 15 18 27 38 55 76 92 116 119 140 167

L. They succeeded because they applied themselves, even though the signs were against them — 178 143 56 134 208

M. Get your tickets to the prize fight here — 80 146 217 224 182 73 89 39 59

N. He pitched for one of Ohio's major league clubs — 12 215 220 117 173 227 33

O. Characterized by subterfuge — 20 29 45 54 82 94 219

P. This takes longer in golf than in boxing — 78 99 136 179 147

Q. What ushers do — 126 158 166 207 218 5 13 34 41 49

R. Where a certain ponderous pachyderm might perform — 150 28 62 186 212 231 103 125 223 24

S. Commanding — 154 53 84 101 105 123 128 137 163 176 181 189 193

T. Distance between bases in baseball — 170 42 48 77 115 148 160 190 202 210

U. Roundabout — 211 102 155 110 138 61 204

V. John and Paul told the truth, but the latter exaggerated — 145 81 10 152 228 21

W. My son John — 184 1 30 104 124 135 142 214 43 67

X. Games held in ancient Greece — 188 83 206 106 63 230 22 70

Y. This is used in taking motion pictures — 229 58 85 97 112 129 161 180 192 200

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

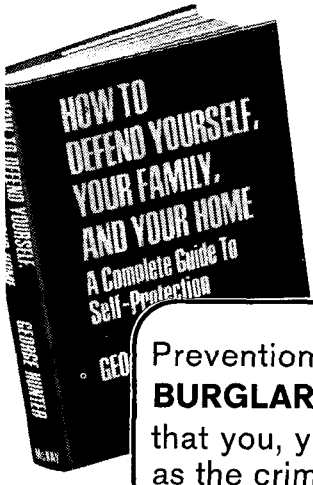
See page 750 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

1 W	2 A	■	3 C	4 I	5 Q	6 F	7 D	8 K	9 J	10 V	■	11 E	12 N	13 Q	14 C	15 K	■	16 G	17 I
■	18 K	19 I	20 O	21 V	22 X	23 G	24 R	25 J	26 C	■	27 K	28 R	29 O	30 W	■	31 F	32 G	33 N	■
34 Q	35 I	36 B	37 G	38 K	39 M	40 D	■	41 Q	42 T	43 W	44 G	■	45 O	46 I	■	47 A	48 T	49 Q	50 I
51 B	52 D	53 S	54 O	55 K	56 L	57 C	58 Y	59 M	■	60 G	61 U	62 R	63 X	64 C	65 J	■	66 H	67 W	■
68 I	69 H	70 X	71 D	72 B	■	73 M	74 E	75 I	76 K	77 T	78 P	■	79 I	■	80 M	81 V	82 O	83 X	84 S
85 Y	86 A	■	87 J	88 I	89 M	90 E	■	91 I	92 K	93 F	94 O	95 J	96 B	97 Y	■	98 I	99 P	100F	101S
102U	103R	■	104W	105S	106X	107F	108B	109G	110U	111J	112Y	■	113G	114J	■	115T	116K	117N	118H
■	119K	120B	121F	122G	123F	■	124W	125R	126Q	127F	128S	129Y	130B	131J	132D	133H	134L	■	135W
136P	137S	■	138U	139E	■	140K	141G	142W	143L	144H	145V	146M	147P	148T	■	149B	150R	151G	152V
■	153J	154S	155U	156C	■	157A	158Q	159J	■	160T	161Y	162D	163S	164K	■	165F	166Q	167K	168J
■	169P	170T	■	171A	172E	173N	174C	175B	176S	177H	178L	179F	180Y	■	181S	182M	■	183E	184W
185C	■	186R	187D	188Y	189S	190T	■	191H	192Y	193S	194B	■	195P	196E	197J	198D	199A	■	200Y
201A	202T	203E	■	204U	205F	206X	■	207Q	208L	209G	210T	■	211U	212R	■	213F	214W	215N	■
216D	217M	218Q	219O	220N	221H	■	222B	223R	■	224M	225A	226G	227N	■	228V	■	229Y	230X	231R

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE

with brief trial membership in the Conservative Book Club and your agreement to buy just three other Selections over the next 15 months, all at deep discounts of 20% to 75%.



How to Defend Yourself,
Your Family, and Your Home

Prevention and protection against all forms of **BODILY ATTACK · BURGLARY · HOLD-UP · RAPE · ARSON · RIOTS.** Guidance that you, your wife — yes, and your children — must have as the crime rate continues to soar in today's jungle.

94 illustrations, 307 pages. Retail price: $6.95

TO GET THIS BOOK FREE

with membership in the Conservative Book Club and your agreement to buy just 3 other books in the next 15 months.

USE GREEN ENROLLMENT CARD FACING THIS PAGE

MAKE NO MISTAKE: this is not a book for the trigger-happy, not for anyone looking for trouble. It is written precisely for people who want to *avoid* trouble. People who feel a growing helplessness as political vote-rustlers turn every neighborhood in our country into a happy hunting ground for the thief,-the rapist, the drug addict, the pervert, the arsonist, the murderer-for-kicks, the looter. It is meant to lessen the chances that you, your wife or your children may be victims – and greatly improve your chances of avoiding serious harm if you cannot avoid an actual confrontation.

As with accident insurance, we dearly hope you never have to use what you will get out of this book. But merely *having* all this information is the best guarantee you will never be faced with criminal attack. (Even if you yourself are a burly ex-Marine and feel no need for this book, remember, your wife and children are different.)

FBI, Police, Army Information

Whether you live in a big city, a posh suburb (where crime is growing fastest) or a small town . . . in a house or an apartment, author George Hunter understands your security problems. Not only has he written and lectured widely on the subject; this book is based on data from organizations like the FBI, the New York City police, the U.S. Army and the National Rifle Association. How much of the following information do you honestly know right now? And yet your safety and your very life, your wife's, your child's, could depend on your knowing *any one* of these facts:

- **The art of locking up. (Hunter shows that the average home is relying on "useless junk"!)**
- **When to be careful about giving your full name.**
- **Perils of the self-service elevator. 3 ways to avoid danger.**
- **Defensive techniques to protect yourself in your car. Safety measures when driving through dangerous areas.**
- **The $12 device that can fool prowlers when you're way from home.**
- ***The law is not always on your side!* How to deal with the legal pitfalls you face when merely defending yourself or coming to the aid of someone being attacked.**
- **How to use time and noise to ward off an intruder.**
- **The home security room: how to secure and stock it. Which room to choose.**
- **The best quick defense against a knife. The best follow-up.**
- **Where to hide valuables and defense devices in a city apartment.**
- **What to do if your home is burglarized. The one thing you should never do!**
- **How the skilled housebreaker differs from the drug addict and the sex criminal.**
- **How to use ordinary household objects to defend yourself.**
- **Tips on firearms that may be new even to an ex-GI. Special techniques for defensive shooting.**
- **Where to buy tear-gas projectors.**
- **Helpful advice on finding a safe neighborhood when you move into a strange town. Precautions to take when you move into a new apartment or house. Ways to protect yourself if you lose your key.**
- **What to do if you find yourself in a bad neighborhood . . . if you're being followed.**
- **Precautions to take when you use public transportation.**
- **Everything you need to know about locks of all kinds and about reinforcing outside doors. *Pick-proof locks. Two things to watch out for.***
- **5 steps to protect your home if you live in an area that may erupt in a riot. How rioters and arsonists use even a garbage can to destroy.**
- ***A man's best friend:* technique for training a watchdog . . . picking the right dog for your situation . . . escaping if the criminal has a dog.**
- **The hidden danger if an attacker tries a fist fight.**
- ***Unarmed personal defense:* 52 photographs illustrating basic methods, with captions to explain each move. Myths about judo and karate. When not to kick. Why the karate chop will serve you better than your fists. The finger spear. The flying mare. Cultivating the right frame of mind in case you are attacked.**
- **If the worst happens: how to protect against rape.**
- **A simple, reliable, do-it-yourself burglar alram for your home.**

Sent FREE with trial membership in the Conservative Book Club

Think of what you read on the front page of your newspaper this morning. Do you *dare* leave your wife and children unprotected when you leave for work in the morning — or when they leave the house by themselves? You need this book. Your wife and older children need it even more.

We'll be glad to send you a copy of *How to Defend Yourself, Your Family, and Your Home* entirely FREE, as a new trial member of the Conservative Book Club. Your membership brings your valuable privileges and discount opportunities – all specified below. Fill in the form below and mail to the Conservative Book Club, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

Privileges and Terms of New Membership

FREE GIFT BOOK on self-protection described above — in original publisher's edition. Retail price: $6.95.

ALSO FREE: Your subscription to our monthly Club Bulletin. Brims with publishing and political news of interest to conservatives.

DISCOUNT PRIVILEGES: Monthly Selections and Alternates are described in your Bulletin . . . the best in conservative books, both fiction and non-fiction. You accept only the books you want, at members' deep discount prices – 20% to 75% lower than retail prices. Selections you want are delivered automatically; you reject books you don't want on simple refusal form always provided.

SPECIAL SERVICES such as the exclusive Club Omnibus Volumes, containing the cream of conservative publishing at immense savings over regular prices . . . exclusive reports on trends in conservative thinking . . . other privileges and services now being arranged for you by the Club.

WIDE BOOK CHOICE: You agree to accept 3 other books from the Club during the next 15 months, from about 40 to be offered — all at discount, of course. After that you are free to resign at any time.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801

Send my free copy of *How to Defend Yourself, Your Family, and Your Home* . . . and enroll me as a Trial Member of the CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB. I understand that membership entitles me to buy Club Selections at discounts of 20% to 75% plus shipping. Each month you will send me, free, the Club Bulletin describing Selections and Alternates, any of which I may reject by using the handy form provided. If I accept a Selection, I need do nothing; it will come automatically. My sole obligation is to buy 3 books over the next 15 months, after which I am free to resign at any time.

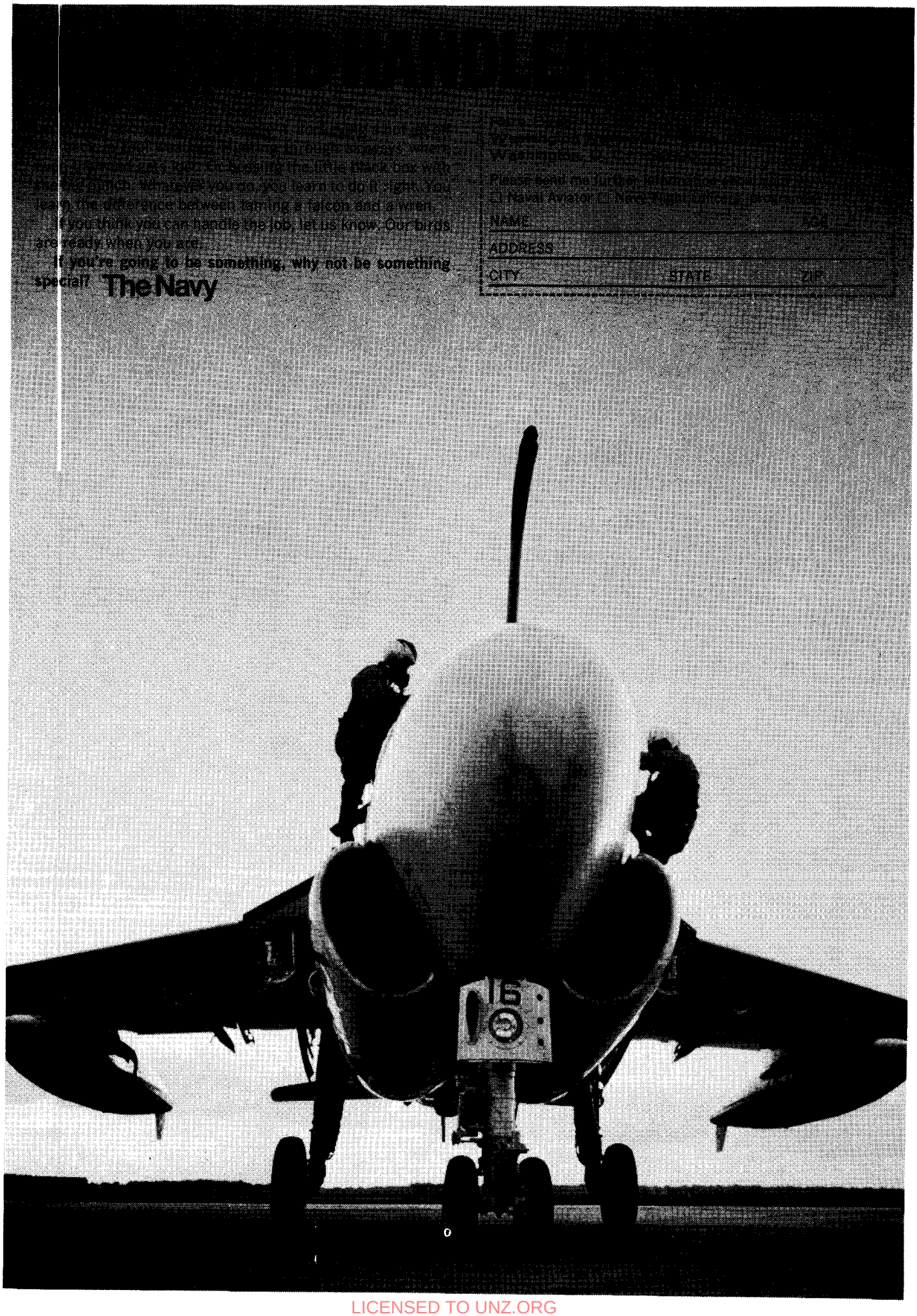
NR-103

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City/Zone*_____ *State*_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Washington, D.

Please send me further information on Navy programs for:
☐ Naval Aviator ☐ Navy Flight Officer ☐ Navy Officer

NAME AGE

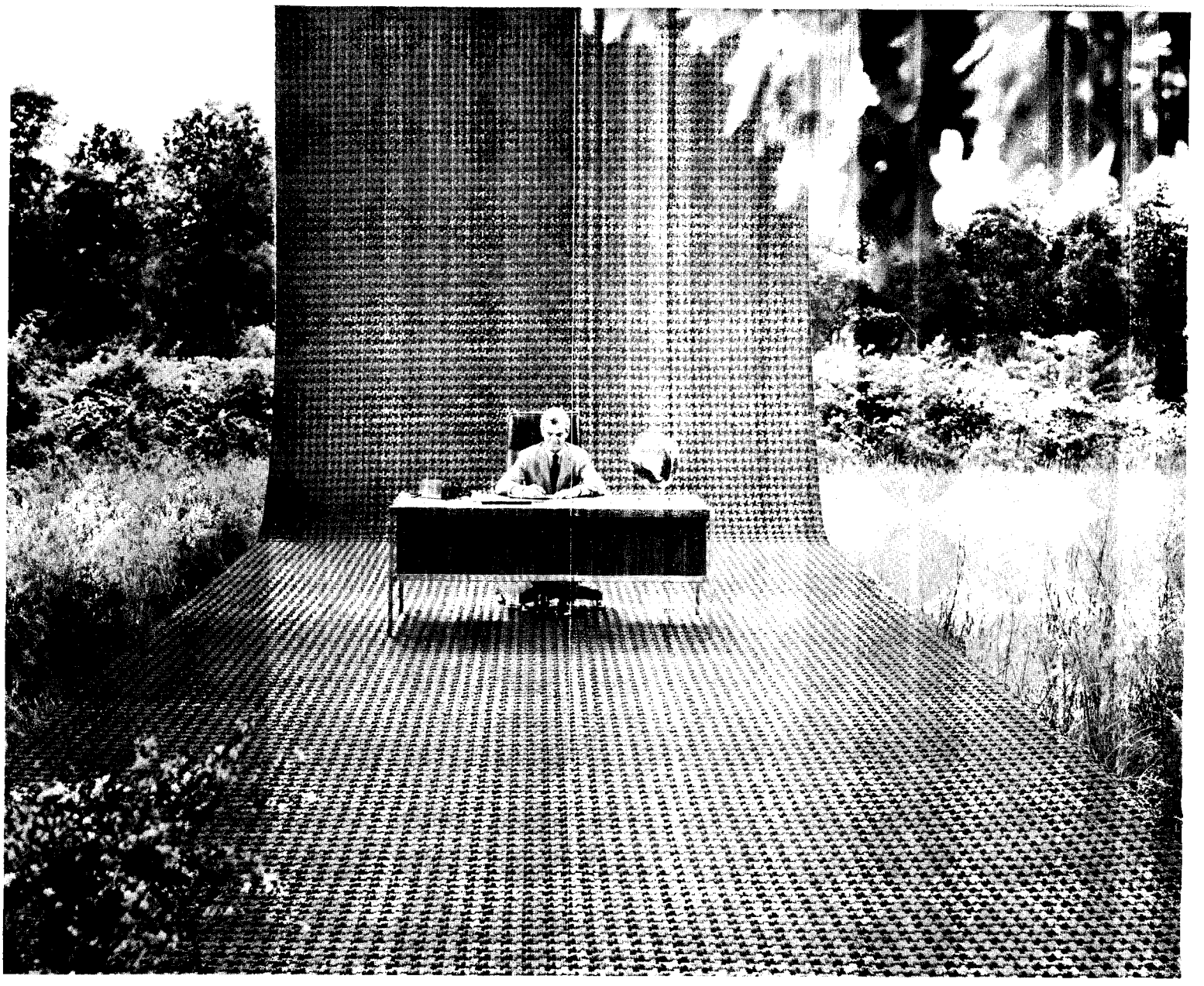
ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

If you think you can handle the job, let us know. Our birds are ready when you are.

If you're going to be something, why not be something special? The Navy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Milliken introduces the ecological carpet...

specifically designed for the modern businessman's environment.

The pattern is Executive Park. Contemporary version of a Bond Street tailor's houndstooth. Rich, thick, impressive underfoot.

Milliken research developed this carpet to thrive in *any* environment, indoors or out. It won't fade in sunlight, won't wilt in rain (in case your office has a terrace). It's resilient, fire-retardant.

Every Milliken product—for home furnishings, fashion and industry—is the result of meticulous research. Understandably, since Milliken has the world's largest textile research and development organization.

If it's in the future of textiles, chances are it will come from Milliken.

XRP12000 008R 26 120
ROY E SMITH
P O DRAWER N
LIMA OH 45802

er 500 patents attest to the productivity of earch conducted here at the Deering Milliken search Center, Spartanburg, S.C.

MILLIKEN

Consumer Products Division, LaGrange, Georgia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED